Vol. CXLIV No. 5

HURST READING ROOM

The AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW

MAY, 1961

PUBLISHED BY
THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA PRESS

Consider These Facts About---

CHURCH SUPPORT

---and The 'Fair Share' Plan*

During the forty years that we have been assembling funds for Catholic appeals, it has been clearly established that The 'Fair Share' Plan is the best plan yet developed to encourage and increase Catholics' financial support of their Church, its parishes and institutions.

● The Record of Acceptance

The 'Fair Share' Plan, a thoroughly time-tested design, has been successfully employed in thousands of Catholic financial campaigns since 1921. There has *never* been an instance in which the 'Fair Share' principle was not acceptable to the Clergy, Committees and Parishioners. We believe there is no other fund-raising method or plan that even approaches this record of acceptance. The 'Fair Share' Plan has never failed to produce good-will for the campaign and its Clergy and Lay leadership.

● The Principles of 'Fair Share'

A 'Fair Share' campaign is based upon *education*—the one quality which will sustain a congregation's Church support when all else fails. When the people understand how the financial needs of their parish, diocese or institution relate to their own individual giving based upon the 'Fair Share' principle, they will give generously out of *love of God* and *loyalty to their Church*. They will give their 'Fair Share' because they will appreciate the effort being made to establish more equitable giving, and because 'Fair Share' specifically takes into account family responsibilities, number of dependents, illness, etc., in relation to income; and is *not* based upon the assessment of one of several set amounts or upon giving an arbitrary percentage of income. Many parishioners resent being assessed an arbitrary percentage because it seems to be a "demand" and fails to take into account the factors which actually dominate their financial situation.

For more information about The 'Fair Share' Plan and its application to capital fund and increased income appeals, write or call us collect.

CONSULTATION WITHOUT OBLIGATION

Thomas Richard Finn and Associates

314 East 51st Street Kansas City 12, Missouri
Telephone: PLaza 3-4155

Nights and Holidays: DElmar 3-2113

Now In Our 39th Year

*Trademark Registered—Canada *Reg. U. S. Pat. Off.

MEMBER OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF FUND-RAISING COUNSEL

THE AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW

VOL. CXLIV, No. 5 MAY, 1961

CONTENTS

Byzantium and the Roman Primacy *Francis Dvornik* 289
The Humility of "The Poor in Spirit" *Francis J. McGarrigle, S.J.* 313
Liturgical Development and the Essence of the Mass *Leo A. Foley, S.M.* 320
Daily Life in Ancient Israel *Ernest Lussier, S.S.S.* 326
Marian Milestones *Alban Anthony Maguire, O.F.M.* 332
A New Pastoral Aid *George E. Ganss, S.J.* 335
Father Edmond Darvil Benard *Joseph Clifford Fenton* 344

ANSWER TO QUESTIONS

Francis J. Connell, C.SS.R., and John R. McCormick, S.S.

Tones at a *Missa Cantata* 347
Precedence of the Color Guard 348
Prohibition of Solemn Nuptial Blessing 348
Signal for Communion 349
Servile Works on Holydays 350

(Contents Continued on Next Page)

Published monthly by The Catholic University of America Press, Washington 17, D. C. Subscription price in U. S. currency or equivalent: United States, Canada, $6.00, Foreign, $6.00, 60 cents per copy.

Second class postage paid at Washington, D. C.

Business communications, including subscriptions and changes of address, should be addressed to The American Ecclesiastical Review, The Catholic University of America Press, Washington 17, D. C.

Please address all manuscripts and editorial correspondence to The Editor, The American Ecclesiastical Review, The Catholic University of America, Washington 17, D. C.

Copyright 1961 by The Catholic University of America Press.

(Contents continued from previous page)

Meat on Friday in a Catholic College 351

The Rosary Ring 352

Denouncing the Divorced 352

The Confirmation Sponsor 353

BOOK REVIEWS

What is an Ecumenical Council? A Catholic View, *by Thoralf T. Thielen* 355

The Ecumenical Councils, *by Francis Dvornik* 355

The Life of the Mystical Body: The Church, Grace and the Sacraments, *by Philip L. Hanley, O.P.* 356

The Churches and the Church, *by Bernard Leeming, S.J.* 357

BOOKS RECEIVED 360

Parish Bookkeeping Guide

by

WILLIAM H. SULLIVAN, C.P.A.

and

PETER J. REPETTI, C.P.A.

The proper administration of the temporal affairs of a modern parish requires up-to-date procedures and techniques. PARISH BOOKKEEPING GUIDE provides clear, concise and authoritative answers to the special bookkeeping problems peculiar to church accounting, presented in non-technical language.

PARISH BOOKKEEPING GUIDE is now in use in parishes, monasteries and seminaries in over one hundred dioceses in the United States and elsewhere. Every parish office should have a copy within easy reach, whether the pastor does the bookkeeping himself or has help.

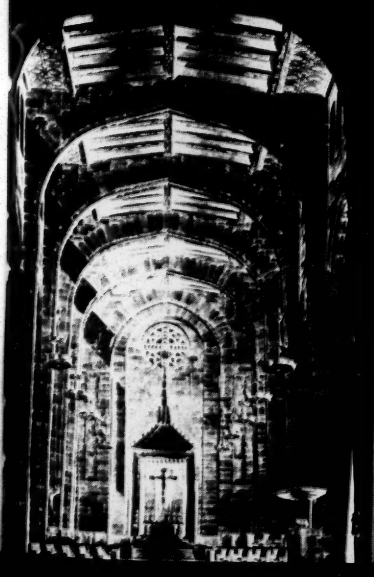
Shipments will be made only to locations listed in the Official Catholic Directory. Not sold in stores. Price $15.00 post-paid. Order from:

MUTUAL CONSULTANTS, INC.

11 Park Place, New York 7, N. Y.

Two winged figures guarded the Sacred Presence on the Ark of the Covenant; two sculptured angels symbolically attend the Sacred Presence in the tabernacle on the Blessed Sacrament altar.

In this clay model the Sculptural mass, movement and expression, scale and details were studied and artistically resolved.



Cathedral of Mary Our Queen, Baltimore, Md. The Most Reverend Francis P. Keough, D.D., Archbishop of Baltimore. Maginnis and Walsh and Kennedy, Archts.

RAMBUSCH 40 West 13th Street New York 11, N.Y.

NEW THIS SPRING

DUNS SCOTUS

The Basic Principles of His Philosophy

By Efrem Bettoni, O.F.M.

Translated from the Italian by
Bernardine Bonansea, O.F.M.

230 pp. $4.75

Till now no solid and comprehensive exposition of Duns Scotus' thought has been presented in English. This translation makes available Efrem Bettoni's classic study of the Subtle Doctor.

- **Part One** contains chapters on the life and works of Duns Scotus—these chapters have been revised in the light of most recent studies and discoveries.
- **Part Two** deals with the Scotistic system of thought and treats the major elements of Scotus' synthesis, which the author conceives as a fusion of Augustinianism and Thomistic Aristotelianism.
- **Part Three,** the concluding section, surveys the position of Duns Scotus in the realm of philosophic thought. The original bibliography has been greatly enlarged in this edition, and an analytic index has been added.

Dr. Bettoni, who is currently Professor of Philosophy at Sacred Heart University in Milan, Italy, is a recognized authority in the field of Scotistic philosophy. In the present work he condenses the results of many years of study and painstaking research.

Dr. Bonansea is Associate Professor of Philosophy of Religion at The Catholic University of America, and the author of several publications in the field of scholastic and Renaissance philosophy.

"*Duns Scotus: The Basic Principles of His Philosophy* should find a place in every philosophical or theological library."

—JOHN K. RYAN,
Dean, The School of Philosophy
The Catholic University of America

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA PRESS

620 Michigan Ave., N.E. Washington 17, D. C.

Summer Time Cassock

. . . a new Lightweight Garment for comfort in Hot Weather!

OF DACRON–POLYESTER 65%
COTTON 35%

Washes beautifully, drip dry, little or no ironing!

$22.50
Roman Style

CASSOCKS ARE AVAILABLE IN THE FOLLOWING SIZES. . .

BACK LENGTH Base of Collar to Ankle	CHEST 36 Collar		CHEST 38 Collar		CHEST 40 Collar		CHEST 42 Collar			CHEST 44 Collar			CHEST 46 Collar			CHEST 48 Collar	
	14	14½	14½	15	15	15⅛	15	15½	16	16	16½	17	16½	17	17½	17½	18
62"																	
60"																	
58"																	
56"																	
54"																	

R. J. TOOMEY COMPANY

BUY THEM FROM YOUR TOOMEY DEALER *(Religious Supply Houses)* THROUGHOUT UNITED STATES & CANADA

Firms with Episcopal Authorization to Replate and Repair Sacred Vessels

BOSTON:	BENZIGER BROTHERS, INC., 95 Summer St. Phone: HAncock 6-6330 (Factory: Brooklyn, N. Y.)
CHICAGO:	ALT SILVER PLATE MANUFACTURING CO. 220 West Madison St. BENZIGER BROTHERS, INC., 223-225 W. Washington St. Phone: FRanklin 2-8936 (Factory: Brooklyn, N. Y.) DAPRATO STATUARY CO., 762 W. Adams St.
CINCINNATI:	BENZIGER BROTHERS, INC., 429 Main St. Phone: MAin 0766 (Factory: Brooklyn, N. Y.) FR. PUSTET CO., 210-216 East 4th St.
CLEVELAND:	JOHN W. WINTERICH AND ASSOCIATES, INC. 3700 Euclid Ave.
NEW YORK:	BENZIGER BROTHERS, INC., 7 East 51st St. Phone: ORegon 5-7050 (Factory: Brooklyn, N. Y.) THE EDWARD O'TOOLE CO., 65 Barclay St. FR. PUSTET CO., 14 Barclay St. RAMBUSCH DECORATING CO., 40 West 13th St.
OMAHA:	KOLEY PLATING CO., 2951-53-55 Harney St.
ST. PAUL:	THE E. M. LOHMANN CO., 413-415 Sibley St.
SAN FRANCISCO:	BENZIGER BROTHERS, INC., 758 Mission St. Phone: SUtter 1-5159 (Factory: Brooklyn, N. Y.) CHARLES ROGER, CHURCH INTERIORS, 1797 Market St. Phone: HEmlock 1-1418

Obtainable in three blends at your dealer, or direct from the Trappist Monks.

ABBEY OF OUR LADY OF NEW MELLERAY DUBUQUE, IOWA

Blend	*Price per pound*
"Melleray"	$2.90
"Abbatial"	1.85
"Benediction"	1.50

Trappist incense comes in fine grains, and packaged in one-pound can and four-pound box.
(Postage Extra)

Clergy and Religious need not send cash with order.

MICROSOUND

1700 WALNUT STREET . BERKELEY 9, CALIFORNIA

CONFESSIONAL HEARING AIDS

The PREMIERE OF AIDS becoming favorably known to priests throughout the Nation because of real service to the hard of hearing and convenience to the priest when in the confessional.

Serves both sides of a double confessional. Under full control of the priest who may sit back comfortably while addressing penitent by hand Microphone. Fully automatic switch directs sound from side to side by simple closing of the slide.

Has distinct clear tone. May converse in whispers, no loud talking back and forth. Softly lighted receivers eliminate groping by penitent. Microsound is no experiment; has given years of service at almost no service cost. We pay shipping costs.

Has the only successful connection to aid the Priest with hearing loss.

JUVENILE COURTSHIPS by V. Rev. Francis J. Connell, C.SS.R.

A reprint from

THE AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW

Now in its 7th reprinting . . .

Single copy, 25¢ In lots of 25, 20¢ ea. In lots of 100, 16¢ ea. (Prices Postpaid)

Address: THE AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW

The Catholic University of America, Washington 17, D. C.

A Special Reprint

Is the Baltimore Catechism Outmoded?

by

V. Rev. Francis J. Connell, C.SS.R.

This article was originally published in the January 1960 issue of *The American Ecclesiastical Review.*

12 pages — 5½ x 8½

Sample copy 15c
In lots of 25 . . . . . 10c ea.
In lots of 100 . . . . . 9c ea.

Prices Postpaid

THE AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW

The Catholic University of America
Washington 17, D. C.

FOR CASH PROFITS

PICTURE POST CARDS

From Your Own Photos

FOR FINE PUBLICITY

In use everywhere by Schools, Colleges, Convents, Retreats, Churches, Homes, Hospitals, etc.

The Laity as well as The Religious welcome the opportunity to mail Artvue Picture Post Cards of Your Institution to their friends.

Please write for Free Folder & Samples

ARTVUE POST CARD CO.
227 Fifth Ave.,
New York 10, N. Y.

Now in its Fifth Reprinting

HUMAN EVOLUTION—1956

with APPENDIX

THE PRESENT CATHOLIC ATTITUDE TOWARDS EVOLUTION

by J. Franklin Ewing, S.J., Ph.D.

A reprint from the Oct. 1956 issue of

ANTHROPOLOGICAL QUARTERLY

Father Ewing is Professor of Physical Anthropology at Fordham. This authoritative article should be of particular interest to *all Catholic Students and Educators.*

52 pages, 5 figures

Single copy	$1.00
In lots of 5	.90 ea.
In lots of 10	.80 ea.
In lots of 25	.70 ea.

PRICES POSTPAID

Yearly subscription to the ***Quarterly***—$4.00

ANTHROPOLOGICAL QUARTERLY

620 Michigan Avenue, N.E. **Washington 17, D. C.**

Now available by popular demand . . .

Co-operation of Catholics in Non-Catholic Religious Activities

By V. Rev. Francis J. Connell, C.SS.R.

This article originally appeared in 3 installments, in the February, March and April, 1956 issues of *The American Ecclesiastical Review.*

32 PAGES AND COVER

PARTIAL CONTENTS:

- Summer schools and kindergartens under non-Catholic auspices
- Cooperation for the construction of non-Catholic Churches
- Publication and distribution of non-Catholic literature
- Membership in the Y.M.C.A.
- Physical cooperation
- Moral cooperation
- Secretarial work

Single copy	$.75
In lots of 5 each	.70
In lots of 10 each	.65

PRICES POSTPAID

The AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW

The Catholic University of America

Washington 17, D. C.

BYZANTIUM AND THE ROMAN PRIMACY

The most important and the most controversial point in all endeavors for rapprochement of other Churches with the Roman Catholic Church is undoubtedly the question of the Roman Primacy in Christianity. The denial of this prerogative to the Bishop of Rome by the Orthodox is, perhaps, the only serious obstacle on the way to reunion of the Eastern Churches with the Roman Church. The many polemic writings issued in the East and in the West from the eleventh century, denying or defending the primary position of the Roman Bishop, have, so far, failed to produce the desired effect on either side. Mutual distrust caused mostly by political divisions and the different development of the Church's organization in East and West, manifested particularly from the eleventh century on, have often embittered the minds of the controversialists and prevented the faithful on both sides from considering the problem without prejudice.

Instead of repeating all the known arguments pro and contra, let us try the historical method and examine the position which the Byzantine Church took on this problem from earliest times on up to the period when the estrangement between the Eastern and Western parts of mediaeval Christianity became apparent and began to envenom the atmosphere in which the Churches had to live.

The Roman Bishops, from the beginning, derived their prestige from the fact that St. Peter, the chief of the Apostles, had died and was buried in Rome. Although some think that no absolute evidence for Peter's stay in Rome can be quoted from before the last quarter of the second century, that is, from around the year 180 (from the letter of Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth, to Rome, and from the testimony of Irenaeus), the Eastern Church had never denied the fact that St. Peter had stayed and had died in Rome. Not one of the numerous cities in the East which had been visited by Peter had ever boasted of the honor of providing his last resting place, and no ancient writer denies that Peter went to Rome. Although this is only an argument from silence, it is still very powerful, and it adds considerable weight to the testimonies mentioned above and to the numerous evidences from the third and the fourth centuries.

Up until the fourth century, however, the Roman Bishops had another reason for feeling they should be regarded as the first in the Christian commonwealth. Their See was, at the same time, the residence of the Emperors and the capital of the Roman Empire. It is very often forgotten that the early Church found a model for her organization in the political divisions of the Roman Empire rather than in the apostolic tradition. This form of Church organization was initiated by the Apostles themselves, who, for practical reasons, had to respect and to use the organization they found in the world in which they lived. They started preaching in the capitals of the major cities of the Roman provinces because there they found important Jewish communities, and it was from these centers that Christianity spread through the provinces and to other communities.

The future organization of the Church was thus foreshadowed by the Apostles when Peter addressed letters to the communities of Galatia, Pontus, Cappadocia, and Asia, and Paul to the capitals of the political provinces of the Empire (Rome, Ephesus, Corinth, Thessalonika). A passage in the second Epistle to the Corinthians (II Cor. 1:1) indicates clearly that these letters were meant to be sent by the bishops of each capital to other cities of the province. Although this does not mean that the bishops of these cities received from the Apostles a superior place in the original hierarchy of the Church, it was natural that the bishops of the capital of a civil province should enjoy a certain prestige over the bishops of other provincial cities. So it happened that from the outset the Church was obliged, for reasons of practical expediency deriving from the political and economic conditions of the Roman Empire, to adapt its ecclesiastical organization to the political divisions of the Empire.[1]

The same factor also influenced the origins and the organization of the Synods. When it became necessary to discuss important

[1] The most extensive study on the organization of the primitive Church is still that published by K. Lübeck, *Reichseinteilung und kirchliche Hierarchie des Orients bis znm Ausgange des vierten* Jahrhunderts (The political division of the Empire and the Church Hierarchy to the end of the fourth century), published in Münster i. W. in 1901. For more bibliographical indications, see my book *The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium and the Legend of the Apostle Andrew*, (Dumbarton Oaks Studies 4, Washington, D. C., 1958), pp. 1-38.

problems arising from the spread of Christianity throughout the different provinces and from the development of doctrine, the meeting places of the bishops was again dictated, not by the consideration that the See of any particular city was founded by an Apostle, but rather by administrative expediency. The political centers of the provinces were the natural places for such meetings, and the initiative of convoking the local Synods and the privilege of presiding over its debates was left to the bishops of the provincial capitals, called Metropoles. Such was the origin of the metropolitan organization. It has also been shown recently that the sessions of the Synods were held according to the same rules which were observed at the meetings of the Roman Senate and of the local municipal assemblies.[2]

Also, the supra-metropolitan organization which resulted in the formation of the first Patriarchates of Rome, Alexandria and Antioch, owes its origin, not to the apostolic foundation of these cities, but to the fact that they were the most important cities of the Empire, the capitals of groups of provinces. Rome was more privileged in this way, because it was the capital of the Empire and the residence of the Emperors. Owing to the intimate connection of all Italian cities with the city of Rome by which they were regarded only as municipia, the Bishops of the capital of Italy and of the Empire were able to preserve direct jurisdiction over the whole of Italy, without the intermediary of the Metropolitans of the provinces, into which Italy was subdivided.

This development in the organization of the Church was sanctioned by the First Oecumenical Council of Nicea in 325. Canon Six of the Council also acknowledged the rights of the Roman See over the whole of Italy, and the Fathers suggested that the exercise of these rights by the Bishop of Rome over Italy was a precedent that should serve as a good example to the Bishop of Alexandria and, partially, also to the Bishop of Antioch. Thus even the supra-metropolitan organization found its basic sanction in the

[2] The best documentary evidence for this development is found in the letters of St. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, especially letters 4, 17, 56, 59, 64, 67, 70, 72, ed. G. Hartel in *Corpus Script. Eccles. Latin.*, vol. 3, part 2, pp. 472, 523, 649, 678, 717, 735, 766, 775. See my study, "Emperors, Popes and General Councils," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, vol. 6, pp. 3 ff. Cf. also my book *The Ecumenical Councils* (The Twentieth Century Encyclopedia of Catholicism, vol. 82, New York, 1961), pp. 9 ff.

Council of Nicaea. Even Rome adapted itself to the principle that the ecclesiastical organization should follow the political division of the Empire. When Italy was divided into two political dioceses with the capitals of Rome and Milan, Milan became automatically a metropolis with jurisdiction over the North of Italy, and the direct jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome was limited to the provinces of central and southern Italy, called suburbicariae.[3]

The organization of Christianity in other Western provinces also followed the rule of accommodation to the political division of the Empire. The prestige of the Roman Bishop in Gaul, Africa, Spain, and Illyricum was great from the beginning, however, thanks not only to the circumstance that many of the first missionaries there came from Italy and Rome, and that Rome was the center of the Empire and the official residence of the Emperors, but also because of the veneration in which young Christian communities in the West held St. Peter, the founder of the Roman See and the chief of the Apostles, whose successors the Bishops of Rome claimed to be.

It should be pointed out, however, that the idea of the Roman Bishops' direct succession from the Apostle Peter had to undergo a certain evolution before it acquired its full meaning. The early Christians regarded the Apostles as universal teachers charged by Christ with spreading His doctrine throughout the world. They venerated them as founders of the churches in the cities where they had preached the new Faith, and where they had resided for some time, but they did not count them as the first Bishops of these cities. The lists of Bishops in the cities where the Apostles had worked were headed, not by the Apostles, but by the first disciples appointed by them to continue their work.

This custom was practiced also by Rome in the first period of her Christian life. The earliest known list of Roman Bishops given by St. Irenaeus of Lyon (who died in 202) designates not only Peter, but also Paul, as founder of the Church of Rome.[4] As the first Bishop of Rome is designated Linus, who was ordained by the Apostles. It is possible that Irenaeus of Lyon used the Roman

[3] Cf. F. Lanzoni, "Le diocesi d'Italia dalle origini al principo del secolo VII," in *Studi e Testi*, vol. 35 (1927), pp. 1016 ff.

[4] Irenaeus, *Contra Haereses*, bk. 3, chap. 3, para. 3, Migne, *Patres Graeci*, vol. 7, cols. 849 ff.

catalogue of Bishops established by Hegesippus.[5] If he did, this would be another indication that what he said concerning Peter and Paul was in the oldest Roman tradition. Hippolytus' list likewise does not count Peter or Paul among the Roman Bishops. Although Pope Callixtus (217-22) is said by Tertullian[6] to have connected the origins of Christianity in Rome only with Peter (since he is the first to have used the famous passage of *Matt.* 16:18 f.), the custom of attributing the origins of Roman Christianity to Peter and Paul and not to designate Peter as the first Roman Bishop continued to be observed in the West, in some cases, up to the fifth century.

The so-called Liberian Catalogue from the year 354[7] is the first which introduces the practice which became general, of attributing the origins of Roman Christianity to Peter only, and to place his name at the head of the Roman Bishops. This failure to stress Peter's function as founder and as first Bishop of the Roman Church seems to indicate that, as long as Rome was the capital of the Empire and the Imperial residence, its privileged position in Christianity was sufficiently guaranteed because all ecclesiastical organization was modeled according to the political divisions of the Empire.

This, of course, does not mean that the Romans did not regard the activity of Peter in Rome as the main reason for their primacy in the young Church. When, however, Constantinople became the residence of the Emperors, it seemed necessary to lay more stress on the Apostolic and Petrine character of the Roman See. From the middle of the fourth century on, the Roman See was often called in the West, simply the See of Peter, and this use became general also in Rome during the time of Pope Damasus (336-89) who emphasized further the apostolic character of his See, calling it simply: *sedes apostolica*. From that time on, this usage became a general rule not only in Rome, but also in the whole of the West.[8]

[5] Cf. B. H. Streeter, *The Primitive Church* (London, 1929), pp. 188-195; E. Milland, "Le développement de l'idee de succession apostolique," in *Revue d'his. et de philos. relig.*, vol. 34 (1954), pp. 20 ff.

[6] De Pudicitia, chap. 21, *Corp. Script. Eccles. Latin*, vol. 20, p. 270.

[7] *Chronographus anni 354*, ed. Th. Mommsen in *Monum. Germaniae Histor. Auctores Antiq.*, vol. 9, p. 73.

[8] See the documentary evidence in P. Batiffol's *Cathedra Petri* (Paris, 1938), pp. 151 ff.

This stressing of the apostolicity of the Roman See in the West is easy to understand. There was in the whole West only one See which could claim an apostolic origin, and that was the Roman See.

In the Eastern part of the Empire the situation was different. There, several important Sees could claim the honor of having been founded by an Apostle: these were Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria and Ephesus. Besides these, less important Sees in Asia Minor and Greece were at least visited by the Apostles, according to the Acts and apocryphal writings on the activities of the Apostles, which began to appear as early as the second century. This circumstance naturally reduced the prestige in the East of the claim to apostolicity, and contributed to the easy victory gained for the principle of adaptation to the political division of the Empire. In reality, we find up to the fifth century only a few instances in which the apostolic character of those cities is mentioned.

Such was the situation in the Eastern part of the Empire, and things must be viewed in this light. That the Church had adapted the organization of its hierarchy to the territorial division of the Roman Empire, and to its administrative system, is generally recognized. But not all are ready to admit the logical consequences of this, or to consider the further evolution of the Church's organization, especially the rise of Constantinople, in the light of this fact. However, only in this light can the first conflict between Rome and Constantinople, which is often interpreted as an attempt at a denial of the primacy of Roman Bishops in the Church by the Easterners, be explained and understood.

This conflict is said to have arisen in 381 when the Synod of Constantinople, later accepted as the Second Oecumenical Council, exempted the Bishop of Constantinople from the jurisdiction of the metropolitan of Heracleia, and conferred upon him a rank second only to that of the Bishop of Rome, because Constantinople had become the residential city of the Emperor.

It is believed that the reaction in Rome to this innovation was very strong. In reality this was not the case. Originally the Council was not meant to be oecumenical, because only the prelates of the Eastern part of the Empire were invited to assist by the Emperor Theodosius. The original intentions of the conciliar Fathers were to reorganize the ecclesiastical affairs of the Eastern dioceses and to legislate for them alone. The ecclesiastical situation in the East

was disturbed by the uncanonical interventions of Peter II of Alexandria (373-80/81) in the affairs of Antioch and Constantinople where he wanted to install prelates of his own choice. His intervention in Constantinople was particularly glaring. He sent there a number of Egyptian Bishops escorted by a mob of Alexandrian sailors and ordered them to consecrate and install his candidate Maximus, a philosopher, in place of the lawful titulary St. Gregory of Nazianzus. The Emperor intervened and the Synod of 381 condemned this provocative action which manifested the intention of the Bishop of Alexandria to establish his supremacy over the whole East. In order to break the hold of Alexandria over the Eastern dioceses for good, it was decided to give to Constantinople the precedence over other Eastern churches.

Because the principle of adaptation to the political divisions of the Empire was the leading and decisive factor in Church organization, especially in the East, and stressed again at the Council of 381, and because Constantinople had become a residential city, the Canon promoting its Bishop encountered no opposition among the Eastern prelates. Peter's brother and successor, Timothy of Alexandria, had to swallow this bitter pill and he signed the decisions of the Council, its Creed and its Canon. The Bishop of Alexandria thus ceded the right of precedence, which he had hitherto possessed in the East, to the Bishop of the Imperial capital.[9]

When all this is borne in mind, it becomes clear that this first promotion of the Bishopric of Constantinople was in no way inspired by an anti-Roman bias. Because the Council was originally meant to be the gathering of Eastern Bishops and had to deal with Eastern religious affairs, the decisions of the Council were not even communicated officially to Pope Damasus, as Leo I himself later testified.[10] The provisions of the Council were, however, known soon afterwards in Rome and, because the principle of accommodation to the political division of the Empire was, at that time, still accepted in Rome, Pope Damasus made no objection

[9] On the rivalry between Constantinople and Alexandria, cf. N. H. Baynes, "Alexandria and Constantinople. A Study in Ecclesiastical Diplomacy," in his *Byzantine Studies and Other Essays* (London, 1955), pp. 97-115. Cf. also the concise history of the first Councils in my book, *The Ecumenical Councils*, pp. 17-31.

[10] Mansi, *Conciliorum ampliss. Collectio*, vol. 6, col. 204, letter 106.

to this promotion of the Imperial city, although Alexandria used to be in very close contact with Rome. In this way, this first so-called conflict between Byzantium and Rome can be satisfactorily explained. The Bishop of Rome continued to be regarded as the first Bishop of the Empire, the head of the Church.

More serious would seem to be the second conflict between Byzantium and Rome which originated at the Council of Chalcedon in 451, when the Fathers voted, in the absence of the Papal legates, the so-called Twenty-eighth Canon confirming Constantinople as having second place in Church organization, and giving to her Bishops direct jurisdiction over the dioceses of Thrace, Pontus and Asia.[11] It is known that the Papal legates protested against this vote and that Pope Leo I (440-61) rejected this Canon with sharp criticism. The question now arises as to whether or not it was the intention of the Eastern Fathers really to question the primacy of the Bishop of Rome in making the Bishop of Constantinople equal to him.

We have again to examine first why it was the Eastern Fathers thought it necessary to reaffirm the leading position of the Bishop of Constantinople in the East. One of the reasons again was the attitude of the Alexandrian Bishops. Although they had accepted the decision of the Council of 381, they still continued their aggressive pursuit of power in the Eastern Church. Bishop Theophilus of Alexandria (385-412) intrigued against St. John Chrysostom, Bishop of Constantinople, and succeeded in obtaining a decree from the Emperor which drove the saintly bishop into exile unjustly. His nephew and successor, St. Cyril (412-44), accused the Bishop of Constantinople, Nestorius (428-31), of heresy and obtained his condemnation and deposition at the Council of Ephesus (431). It is now generally accepted that Cyril accomplished this by means which were very questionable, and many scholars have doubts as to whether or not Nestorius' teaching was really heretical.

It is well known how Dioscorus, Bishop of Alexandria and promoter of monophysism, once more humiliated Constantinople in allowing her Bishop, the saintly Flavian (441-49), to be condemned

[11] For details, see *Das Konzil von Chalcedon*, ed. A. Grillmeir, H. Bacht (Würzburg, 1953), vol. 2, especially the excellent study by E. Herman, pp. 459-490 and T. O. Martin on the twenty-eighth Canon, *ibid.*, pp. 433-458.

by the irregular and ill-famed Synod of Ephesus, justly called the Robber Synod *(Latrocinium)*. Flavian was treated so badly by Dioscorus' men that he died from the injuries.[12]

From all this it was evident to the Orthodox Fathers that Alexandria, then in the hands of an heretical Bishop, should not be allowed to continue in her pretensions to the leadership of the East. This could be done only as a result of further promotion of Constantinople, confirmed by a new Council which was, this time, oecumenical from the beginning.

On the other hand, we must not forget that, in order to obtain general approval for such a measure, the Fathers could not afford to alienate the Pope, who had played a prominent role during the final stages of the dogmatic struggles with the monophysites of Alexandria, and whose representatives were still present at Chalcedon. It would, therefore, be illogical to suppose that the Fathers intended to deny the primacy of the Bishop of Rome, a primacy which had just made itself particularly apparent in the triumph of orthodoxy at Chalcedon.[13]

This primacy had been once more clearly proclaimed at Chalcedon by the legates when they quoted the Roman version of Canon Six of Nicaea. The old Latin translation prefaced the wording of the Canon as follows: *Romana ecclesia semper habuit primatum.* Although the Roman version differed from the original, also read at the same last session of the Council by the Greeks, the Fathers did not protest against such a glaring declaration of the primacy of the Roman Church, and did not even question the authenticity of the Roman version of the Canon and its preface.[14]

Moreover, the fact that the Fathers of the Council, the Patriarch of Constantinople Anatolius, and the Emperor Marcian himself insisted in their letters that the Pope should sign the Canon is sufficient indication that the conciliar Fathers saw in its wording no offensive against Rome.[15]

[12] See, for details and bibliography, my book *The Idea of Apostolicity*, pp. 52 ff.

[13] Cf. F. X. Murphy, *Peter Speaks through Leo. The Council of Chalcedon*, (Washington, Cath. Univ. Press, 1952).

[14] Mansi, *op. cit.*, vol. 7, col. 444. Cf. C. H. Turner, *Ecclesiae occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima* (Oxford, 1899-1929), vol. 1, pp. 103, 121.

[15] See their letters in Mansi, *op. cit.*, vol. 6, cols. 146-156, 168 ff.; 171 ff.

In order to understand the negative position of the legates and of the Pope after the vote of this Canon, we have to consider that the Canon gave to Constantinople more privileges than did Canon Three of the Council of 381. The legates and the Pope were ready to accept the idea that the See of Constantinople, because it was the residence of the Emperor, should be given precedence over the two other Eastern Sees of Alexandria and Antioch. To this extent they could pay lip service to the old principle of adaptation to the political organization of the Empire which was still, at that time, generally accepted. Canon Three of the Council of 381 granted, in reality, to the See of Constantinople, only honorary precedence, but did not extend the jurisdiction of that See. The delegates also accepted Canons Nine and Seventeen of Chalcedon, which granted to the Bishops of Constantinople a status of concurrent instance of appellations, because it did not substantially alter their position.[16]

Canon Twenty-eight of Chalcedon, however, advanced the See of Constantinople to a position of great power in the East, giving her jurisdiction over the minor dioceses of the Empire (Thrace, Pontus, and Asia) as well as over the new missionary lands. This amounted to the creation of an immense, new, ecclesiastical power in the East which, because it had the support of the Emperors, could become exceedingly dangerous to the unity of the Church and to the primacy of Rome.

What would certainly have aroused any Westerner against such a measure was the fact that the Fathers, although guaranteeing in the same Canon Rome's ancient privileges, had completely neglected to stress either the apostolic character of that See or the fact that the Pope was the successor of Peter, the Prince of the Apostles. Because of this Pope Leo I refused to sign the Canon and opposed the principle that there should be correlation between the rank of a city in the civil administration and the place of that city's See in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. He insisted, on the other hand, that the rank of a See should be determined by the principles of the apostolic character of its foundation. Thus Rome has primacy in the Church, not because she was a capital of the Empire, but because of the Petrine origin of the Roman See. Alexandria is

[16] Mansi, *op. cit.*, vol. 7, cols. 361, 365.

second in rank because she was founded by Peter's disciple, St. Mark. Antioch is the third in the hierarchy because of her connection with St. Peter and because the name "Christians" first arose there. Constantinople has no special position in the Church hierarchy because she was not founded by an Apostle. Moreover, this promotion of Constantinople contradicted the Sixth Canon of the Council of Nicaea which had allotted the first three places in the Church to Rome, Alexandria and Antioch.[17]

In this way the argument of the apostolicity and of the Petrine tradition was introduced by Leo I into the disputes between the East and West and remained, for centuries to come, the main argument used by the Roman canonists against the pretensions of Constantinople to a privileged position in the Church.

Leo's fears are easily understood. Rome had lost her great prerogative as the center of the Empire and the residential city of the Emperors, and had retained only her apostolic character and her successorship to St. Peter as justification for her claim to the primacy in the Church. Leo the Great foresaw correctly that the new status of the See of Constantinople could, in the future, endanger the rightful claims of Rome.

It is most unfortunate that the Eastern Fathers who had put together Canon Twenty-eight showed a lack of comprehension of the anxiety of Rome. The East was still greatly influenced by the principle of adaptation to the new political situation, and could not see beyond its immediate horizon. When we examine the Acts of the Councils of Ephesus and of Chalcedon and other documents of this period, we are surprised to notice that only in a few instances the Easterners mentioned the apostolic character of the main Sees, and when they did so, it was without emphasis.[18] Had they respected the apostolic and Petrine character of Rome in the drawing up of the contested Canon, the Pope would have probably been induced to accept it.

On the other hand, Pope Leo, in his anxiety to preserve the privileges of his See, seems to have overlooked the fact that the Easterners still looked upon Rome as the Imperial city, as is evi-

[17] The Pope's letters to the Emperor and the Patriarch Anatolius in Mansi, *op. cit.*, vol. 6, cols. 196 ff.; 204 ff.

[18] See, for documentary evidence, my book *The Idea of Apostolicity*, pp. 39 ff.

dent from declarations made by some of the Bishops at Chalcedon. To them, the fact that Rome was the first capital and the foundation of the Empire was sufficient proof that the primacy in the Church belonged to her Bishops, and it would so remain as long as the Roman Empire, of which Constantinople was now the Imperial residence, endured.

The Pope's representative, Julian of Kios, was aware of this, and he advised the Pope to approve the decision of Chalcedon regarding the See of Constantinople. This could have been done in a document that stressed the apostolic character of the Roman See and her primacy because she had been founded by Peter whom the Lord had chosen to be the head of the Church. Such a declaration would most probably have been accepted by the Easterners, because they seem to have been aware of the mistake they had made in not mentioning the apostolic character of the Roman See. Perhaps, in order to give the Pope some satisfaction, they called Rome an Apostolic See in the letters in which they asked the Pope to confirm the Canon. Anatolius of Constantinople and the Pope came, at the end, to a kind of "compromise." Although Constantinople continued *de facto* to use the right accorded to her Bishops by the Council, Canon Twenty-eight was not included in the collection of Eastern Canon Law. It appeared only in the sixth century, in the Syntagma of Fourteen Titles.[19]

One thing is securely established, namely, that the Byzantine Church did not intend to question the primacy of Rome in the Church. In spite of what happened, Rome continued to be regarded as the superior of Constantinople and as the first See in the Church. The conflict can be explained by the clash of two principles in the organization of the Church—accommodation to the secular situation and the apostolic origin. The failure of the Chalcedonian Fathers to find a compromise between these two principles marks the beginning of a long struggle over the apostolicity, which became the source of new bitterness in the relations between East and West. It is symptomatic that Canon Twenty-eight was officially accepted in the West only at the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, when the See of Constantinople was occupied by a Latin Patriarch,

[19] Published by V. N. Benešević, *Kanoničeskij Sbornik XIV titulov* (St. Petersburg, 1903), p. 155. It was also approved by the Council in Trullo (692), Mansi, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, col. 960.

following the conquest of the city by the Latins.[20] This, of course, did not contribute to a better understanding between the Orthodox and the Latins.

The friendly relations between Constantinople and Rome were seriously disrupted for the first time during the so-called Acacian Schism (484-519) when Pope Felix excommunicated Patriarch Acacius because he was sponsoring a compromise between the heretical monophysites and the Orthodox doctrine of Chalcedon, proposed by the Emperor Heraclius in his decree called *Henoticon* (482). During this rift, Pope Gelasius (492-496) went even further than Leo. He was the first to assert clearly the primacy of Rome and her jurisdiction over the entire Church. He not only repudiated Canon Twenty-eight, but he refused to count even Constantinople among the major Sees of Christendom. His language was too passionate for the Easterners, and Gelasius complained that in their letters, they spoke of him as proud, arrogant and stubborn. But, in spite of this, the Easterners were impressed by the Pope's emphasis on the apostolic character of his See, and by the deductions he made from the fact that he was the successor of St. Peter. In their correspondence with the Pope, the apostolicity of the Roman See was stressed more and more.

On the other hand, one can also see that, although willing to acknowledge the special position of Rome in the Church, they found some of the claims made by Gelasius strange and contrary to tradition. Their sharp criticism of Gelasius' attitude reveals their determination not to surrender the autonomous status of their Church, although compromised in the eyes of Rome as having supported an heretical creed.[21]

The reconciliation was made in the reign of Pope Hormisdas (514-23) when the Eastern Bishops signed the so-called *Libellus Hormisdae* which contained a clear definition of the Roman primacy

[20] Canon Five of the Council, Mansi, *op. cit.*, vol. 22, cols. 290, 291. However, already the Fathers of the Ignatian Council (869-870) when formulating Canon Twenty-one gave precedence to the Patriarch of Constantinople before Eastern Patriarchs. Pope Hadrian II did not protest against this canon (Mansi, vol. 16, col. 174). The canon is preserved only in the Latin translation of the Acts made by Anastasius Bibliothecarius.

[21] The main documents concerning the Acacian Schism are published by E. Schwartz, "Publizistische Sammlungen zum Acacianischen Schisma" in the *Abhandlungen* of the Bavarian Academy, Phil-hist. Class 1934, pp. 161-

in matters of faith. It is an important document recalling the promise of the Lord given to Peter (*Matt.* 16:18 f.) and declaring that "in the Apostolic See the Catholic religion has always been kept immaculate" and that in it "persists the total and true strength of the Christian religion."[22] Some of the Eastern prelates may have signed the *Libellus* with mixed feelings, for never before had they read such a clear definition of Roman primacy, but even the Patriarch John signed it. They objected only to certain declarations of Gelasius which threatened the autonomous status of their Church. The *Libellus* dealt only with questions of dogma in which Rome had always proved to be a staunch defender of the Orthodox faith.

Interesting also in this respect is the declaration of John's successor Epiphanius in his letter to Pope Hormisdas: "It is my greatest desire to be united with you and to embrace the divine doctrines which have been entrusted to your holy See by the blessed and holy disciples and God's Apostles, especially by Peter, the head of the Apostles, and to esteem nothing more than them."[23]

At the same time the Patriarch and the Emperor Justinian, in referring in their letters to the four general Councils, had persuaded Pope Hormisdas to accept implicitly Canon Three of the Council of 381, which gave the See of Constantinople second rank in the hierarchy of the Church.

On the other hand, Justinian, when sanctioning in his *Novel* 131, 2[24] the rank of the Patriarchs, expressed very clearly that the Bishop of Constantinople was inferior to the Bishop of Rome. This is important, and contradicts the statements of the mediaeval Greek controversialists who argued that because Rome was called the Old City, and Constantinople the New City, Rome outranked Constantinople only in age and in no other respect. This thesis was also rejected in the twelfth century by the famous Byzantine canonist Zonaras, who bases his rejection on the wording of Justinian's *Novel* 131.[25]

---

262. The papal letters in Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, vol. 58, 59, new critical edition in the so-called *Collectio Avellana*, in *Collectio Script. Eccl. Latin.*, vol. 35, ed. by O. Günther. See, for details and bibliography, my book *The Idea of Apostolicity*, pp. 106-137.

[22] Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, vol. 63, col. 393 ff., *Collectio Avellana*, pp. 520 ff.

[23] Migne, *op. cit.*, cols. 494 ff., *Collectio Avellana*, pp. 652-654.

[24] *Corpus Iuris Civilis, Novellae*, vol. 3, ed. R. Schoell, W. Kroll, p. 655.

[25] Migne, *Patres Graeci*, vol. 137, cols. 321C, 325, 485-489.

Another incident which occurred under Pope Pelagius (579-90) is generally interpreted as a denial by the Byzantines of the primacy of Rome. The Pope was scandalized when he learned that the Patriarch of Constantinople, John IV the Faster (582-95), was using the title of Oecumenical Patriarch. The Pope translated the word "oecumenical" by the word "universal" and asked the Patriarch to renounce a title which did not belong to him. The Patriarch did not abandon the use of this title and Pope Boniface III seems to have complained to the Emperor Phocas in 607 that "the Church of Constantinople declared itself to be the first of all the Churches."

The Emperor Phocas issued a degree stating that "the Apostolic See of the blessed Apostle Peter" should always be "the head of all Churches."[26] This decree is a new confirmation of Justinian's *Novel* 131. Boniface's complaint and Phocas' decree would appear to have been provoked by the use of the "oecumenical" title. This title, however, did not mean that the Patriarch using it pretended to have power over the whole Church. It had already been used by Bishop Dioscorus of Alexandria in 449, and by many other bishops, and was also given by the Greeks to Popes Leo I, Hormisdas, and Agapetus. Justinian gave this same title to the five Patriarchs in order to express their supreme power within the borders of their own Patriarchates. Thus, the use of this title by the Patriarchs of Constantinople does not mean that they intended to usurp the power over the whole Church and to supersede Rome.

In the meantime, the passage of events had made the Byzantines increasingly aware of the growing importance which the idea of apostolicity had in their relationship with Rome. Many scholars have supposed that because of the impression which the display of the apostolic character of the Roman See had made during the Acacian Schism in Byzantium, the Greeks had invented the legend that their See was also founded by an Apostle, St. Andrew, the brother of Peter. Because St. Andrew was the first to be invited by the Lord to join Him, and because he had introduced his brother Peter to the Master, he, Andrew, should be regarded as

[26] *Liber Pontificalis,* ed. L. Duchesne, vol. 1, p. 316: "Hic optinuit apud Focatem principem ut sedis apostolica beati Petri apostoli caput esset omnium ecclesiarum, quia ecclesia Constantinopolitana prima se omnium ecclesiarum scribebat."

the first of the Apostles, and his successors in Byzantium at least equal, if not superior, to the successors of Peter in Rome.

If this could be verified, it would amount to a clear negation of Roman primacy in the Church by the Byzantines. I have examined this story thoroughly in my book *The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium and the Legend of the Apostle Andrew*[27] and came to the conclusion that there is no trace of it in Byzantine or Western tradition before the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth centuries. During this time the Byzantines were still clinging to the old principle of accommodation to the political situation, and the fact that their city was the Imperial residence was regarded as sufficient to assure it a privileged position in the Church.

However, they were impressed by the idea that a See which was to play such a prominent role should be connected with the Apostles, the universal teachers, whose doctrine the Patriarchs should explain and promote. In reality, we find some instances in the seventh century in which the See of Constantinople is called "apostolic." It is reasonable to see in this the influence of the Roman emphasis on the apostolic character of the Church in general and the Roman See in particular. It should be stressed, however, that this custom was not originated by the story of the Apostle Andrew as founder of its bishopric, because the Andrew story was then not yet known in Byzantium.

Early Syriac, Armenian and Coptic traditions show, however, that the apostolic character was attributed to the See of Constantinople because this See was the heir of Ephesus, and, thus, of the Apostle John, when the jurisdiction which the See of St. John had exercised over Asia Minor was transferred to Constantinople.[28] This is also confirmed by the declaration of the Patriarch Ignatius at a synod in 861,[29] and seems also to be alluded to by the Patriarch Photius in his letter to the Armenians.

Anyhow, the attribution of an apostolic character to the See of Constantinople reveals that the Byzantines were making some in-

[27] Pp. 138-299.

[28] F. Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity*, pp. 238 ff.

[29] In the Acts of the Synod of 861 which condemned Ignatius, the latter declared: "I am also in possession of the throne of the Apostle John and of Andrew who was the first to be called Apostle," Wolf von Glanvell, *Die Kanonessammlung des Kardinals Deusdedit* (Paderborn, 1905), p. 603.

teresting progress towards the Roman conception of leading principles in Church organization. This progress was accelerated by the controversy over the image worship. The iconoclastic Emperors were stressing the priestly character of the imperium. Because of this they were inclined to exalt the position of the Emperors in religious matters, at the expense of the "sacerdotium," particularly since the Patriarchs of the truly apostolic Sees did not favor the iconoclastic doctrine. It is the last glaring instance of the intervention of Emperors over religious, nay, doctrinal matters. It was a radical application of the old Hellenistic political philosophy according to which the Emperors, not the Patriarchs, were the representatives of God on earth, and, thus, had not only the right, but also the duty to watch over the purity of the faith and care for the true worship. The early Church had accepted the basic principles of this political conception, the only one which was known, but defended always the thesis that the definition of the Christian teaching was the privilege not of the "imperium" but of the "sacerdotium."

And so it came about that the apostolic idea became a weapon for the defenders of the image cult against the intervention of the Emperors in the doctrinal field. The Pope was exalted by the defenders of image worship as the heir of Peter, the head of the Apostles, and the repository of pure doctrine. The Iconoclastic Council of 754 was condemned by Stephen the Younger in 760, for example, because the Acts had not been approved by the Pope.[30]

More outspoken were St. Theodore the Studite (759-826) and his followers. Theodore called the Pope simply "apostolicus," using the title given to the Popes in the West, and which he had probably learned from his correspondence with the monks of the Greek monasteries in Rome.[31] He recognized the Emperor's right to convoke a Council as it had been practiced so far, but in several councils he insisted on the preeminent position of the Pope. If the convocation of a Council was not desired by the Emperor, he rec-

[30] Vita S. Stephani Junioris, Migne, *Patres Graeci,* vol. 100, col. 1144. He mentions also the other patriarchs, but when speaking of the Pope, he adds: "according to the canonical prescriptions religious affairs cannot be defined without the Roman Pope."

[31] On the origin and use of this title and on Greek monasteries in Rome, see my book *Les Légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues de Byzance* (Prague, 1933), pp. 295-300, 286-290.

ommended that the case be submitted to the Roman Bishop for a decision. However, he extended the apostolic character to all Patriarchs, even that of Constantinople, because they were the successors of the Apostles. "This is the patriarchic authority of the Church; these have jurisprudence over divine dogmas," exclaimed Theodore. Of course, among these five Patriarchs, Theodore always gave the first place to the Bishop of Rome.[32]

This is another milestone in the recognition of Roman primacy in Byzantium. In spite of this, however, the official Byzantine Church still clung to her traditional concepts. This is illustrated particularly by the Acts of the Seventh Oecumenical Council. Pope Hadrian (772-95) sent a letter to the Empress Irene and her son Constantine which was read during the Synod. It is very significant that many passages which clearly express the primacy of the Roman See have been omitted in the Greek version read at the Synod. The Pope's quotation of Our Lord's words to St. Peter (*Matt.* 16:18 f.) are passed over. Only one short allusion to these words is left but the name of Paul is added to the name of Peter, whenever the Pope mentioned the foundation of the Roman See by Peter. The protest of the Pope against the use of the title: "Oecumenical Patriarch" by the Bishop of Constantinople was also suppressed in the Greek version, and the Pope's criticism of Tarasius' elevation to patriarchal dignity, although he was a layman, was likewise left out. Similar changes were made by the Greeks in the letter sent by the Pope to Patriarch Tarasius.[33]

Of course, the primacy of the Pope in the Church is not only not denied, but is actually very clearly expressed. All this shows, however, that the Byzantines, although willing to recognize and accept the Roman primacy fundamentally, were anxious to preserve the autonomous status of the Church and were not willing to allow the Popes to interfere directly with their customs and usages. This is important and must be borne in mind whenever we examine the attitude of the Byzantines towards Rome. On the whole, however, we have to admit that in the eighth century further progress was made by the Byzantine mentality towards a better understanding of the question of the Roman primacy.

[32] Letter 129, Migne, *Patres Graeci*, vol. 99, cols. 1417, 1420.

[33] See the Acts of the Council in Mansi, *op. cit.*, vol. XII, cols. 1056 ff. (Second session of the Council.)

Many Catholic scholars think that the idea of the Five Patriarchs governing the Church was invented by the Byzantines in order to weaken or to negate the primacy of the Bishop of Rome, because it suggests the idea that all Patriarchs are equal in dignity. However, this is not so. The documents which formed the basis for the growth of the pentarchic idea—the Acts of the Sixth Oecumenical Council, Justinian's Novels, the writings of Maximus the Confessor of the seventh century, of Theodore the Studite of the eighth century, of other defenders of image worship, and the Acts of the Ignatian Synod of 869-70—by no means imply the equal dignity of all five Patriarchs. In many instances the special position of the Roman Patriarch is stressed. We have to consider this problem from the Byzantine point of view.[34] The idea of five patriarchs expressed the universality of the Church which at that time could not be fully represented by the size of the Roman Empire, vast parts of which had been occupied by the Arabs. Furthermore, the idea that the direction of Church affairs, especially insofar as they concerned the definition and interpretation of Christ's doctrine, should be reserved to the incumbents of the principal Sees who, at the same time, represented the bishops of their respective patriarchates, expresses the rights of the "sacerdotium" as opposed to the interference of the "imperium." The Eastern Church had always fought for her rights against the intervention of the Emperors, and she was strongly supported in her fight by the West, as represented by the Patriarch of Rome. In the Byzantine view the pentarchy suggested also the idea of the infallibility of the Church in matters of doctrine, a truth which is firmly believed by the Orthodox Church today.

The fact that the idea of the pentarchy took such firm root in Byzantium in the eighth and ninth centuries signifies that the Roman principle of leadership in the Church—the apostolic character of the Church and of her principal Sees as opposed to the principle of accommodation to political changes—had gained considerable ground in Byzantium. With the iconoclastic heresy the traditional concept of the "imperium" was defeated in Byzantium and the Church affirmed most strongly her rights for which she had been fighting so vigorously. It meant also the definitive ac-

[34] See, for details, my book *The Idea of Apostolicity*, pp. 163, 168, 235 ff., 275 ff.

ceptance of the apostolic character of the See of Constantinople by the Easterners, and this time this supposition was strengthened by the spread of the legendary story of the apostolic foundation of the See of Byzantium. This story, based on the apocryphal Acts of St. Andrew in which Byzantium is mentioned, originated in the eighth century and became popular, largely as the result of new lives of St. Andrew written in the eighth and ninth centuries.

Even the Patriarch Ignatius refers to St. Andrew, as well as to St. John, as his predecessor. This indicates that the story of the apostolic foundation of the Byzantine See by Andrew was already accepted in many circles. In spite of this it was not yet officially accepted in the Church. The Typicon of the Church of Hagia Sophia from the end of the ninth century, which is an official document, does not mention the story when recording the feast of St. Andrew, and neither does it list the feast of St. Stachys, the legendary first Bishop of Byzantium, ordained by the Apostle Andrew.[35] In Byzantium and in the East this story was generally accepted only in the tenth century.

It is believed that this story was used by the Patriarch Photius in a treatise denying the primacy of Rome and exalting the high position of the Byzantine See because it was founded by the brother of Peter, who had been the first of the Apostles chosen by the Lord. The fact that this story was not listed officially in the Typicon of the Patriarchal church, although this Typicon was re-edited by Photius, should be sufficient to show that Photius could not have written such a pamphlet. Only in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries could such an attack on the Roman primacy have been written on the basis of the legendary story of Andrew.

Photius is regarded both by Catholics and Orthodox as a staunch defier of the Roman primacy. This judgment needs radical correction as the result of recent studies. First of all it should be remembered that for the first time in Byzantine history Bishops who later became supporters of Photius had appealed against the judgment of Patriarch Ignatius, which they regarded as unjustified, to the first Patriarch, the Bishop of Rome. There were, of course, other Byzantine Patriarchs who had turned to Rome when unjustly

[35] This important document was published by A. Dmitrijevskij in his *Opisanie liturg. rukopisej* (Description of liturgical manuscripts), vol. I, *Typika* (Kiev, 1895), p. 27.

condemned, such as St. Chrysostom and St. Flavian, but in their cases doctrinal questions were involved. The appellations of Gregory Asbestas and of his supporters were made, however, in purely disciplinary matters. Documentary evidence shows that Rome had begun to act as the supreme judge in this disciplinary affair, and that the Byzantine prelates took advantage of a decision of the Synod of Sardica (343) which had acknowledged the supreme position of Rome and had established the right of appeal to the Pope as representing the ultimate authority in the Church. The Canons of this local Synod of Western prelates had not been accepted, so far, in the East. This is the first time in which the Canon was invoked by the Eastern Church.[36]

This is important, but there is much more. When, in 861, Ignatius who had resigned the patriarchal throne, but had been acclaimed as Patriarch by certain enemies of the new Patriarch, Photius, canonically elected, was judged by the Roman legates, the Byzantine prelates making declarations which amounted to an official acceptance of the famous Canon of the Synod of Sardica. First, let us stress the fact that the Byzantine Church, in consenting to the judgment of her Patriarch by the legates of the Pope, thus recognized Rome as the supreme tribunal of the Church in disciplinary matters. It does not matter if the legates were or were not authorized by Pope Nicholas I to pronounce judgment. The fact that the Byzantine Church allowed them to do so is in itself eloquent enough.

At the beginning of the Synod the legates repeatedly proclaimed that they were proceeding according to the Canons of Sardica, which declared the Pope to be the ultimate authority in the Church. What happened during the second meeting of the Synod is particularly important. The legates said: "Believe us, brethren, it is because the Fathers in the Council of Sardica decided that the Bishop of Rome has power to reopen the cause of any bishop that we desire, with the authority we have mentioned, to re-examine the case." The Bishop of Laodicea, Theodore, the speaker of the Byzantine Church, said: "Our Church rejoices at it and has no objection to it and is not offended by it ("et ecclesia nostra gaudet in hoc et nullam habet contradictionem aut tristitiam"). Subse-

[36] See, for details and documentary evidence, my book *The Photian Schism*, pp. 16 ff

quent events resulted in this Synod being rejected by the Pope and its Acts forgotten. They were rediscovered in 1870, but it is certainly time that Church historians and canonists paid more attention to these outstanding declarations.[37]

Furthermore, Photius is severely criticized by Catholic theologians for having altered the letters sent to him, to the Emperor Basil, and to the Byzantine Church by Pope John VIII, which were read at the Council of 879-80 convoked to clear his name. It is true that in the Greek version of the letters Photius omitted all that he considered misrepresented his case but, after explanations, the legates consented to the changes because the Patriarchal Chancellory retained in the Greek version some passages from the Latin original which very clearly expressed the Pope's ideas on the Roman primacy. Photius' versions contain also the quotation of the famous passage of Matt. 16:19 on which the Pope based "the power to bind and loose, and in the words of Jeremiah, to uproot and to plant." Furthermore, Photius did not add the name of Paul to that of Peter when the Pope, in the original version, spoke of the founder of his See.[38] This is proof that in the ninth century the Byzantines abandoned the old custom which was still in practice in the eighth century, as is clear from the Acts of the Seventh Oecumenical Council, and had accepted the Roman custom of attributing the foundation of the See of Rome to Peter alone.

It is said also that Photius publicly denied the primacy and transferred it to Byzantium in 867 and convoked a Council which had condemned Pope Nicholas. Here, however, we have to distinguish between the person of the Pope and the papacy. The Council condemned Nicholas I for his neglect of the customs of the Byzantine Church and for his direct interference in an internal affair which the Patriarch and his Bishops regarded as unjustified. Evidently this was Photius' greatest mistake for which the West never forgave him. But this does not mean that he denied the Roman primacy. The same Synod acclaimed the German Emperor

[37] An extract from the Acts was preserved in the eleventh century canonical collection of Cardinal Deusdedit. Critical edition by Wolf von Glanvell, *op. cit.*, pp. 603-10. Deusdedit's collection contains also a summary of the Photian Council of 879-80, *ibid.*, pp. 612 ff.

[38] Cf. the new critical edition of the letters in *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Epistolae*, vol. 7, pp. 166 ff. Mansi, *op. cit.*, vol. 7, cols. 396 ff.

Louis II as "basileus" and addressed a letter to him in which he was asked to depose Pope Nicholas. When examined from the Byzantine point of view this incident becomes very important. It shows that in Byzantium there was still hope of unifying the Roman Empire, with an Emperor in Constantinople and a co-Emperor in the West. Rome was the cradle of the Roman Empire and the Byzantines called themselves not Greeks, but Romans. As long as they called themselves Romans and as long as they regarded Rome as the cradle of their Empire and its first capital, they could not deny to Rome the first place which its Bishops claimed. The fact that they desired to win over the Emperor of the West to the cause of unity makes it clear that they did not wish to degrade the See of Rome and her Bishop to an inferior status.[39]

When we consider the events in Byzantium during the ninth century in this new light, we must confess that contrary to what had been so far believed, we can trace in these events and in the documents of this period further progress towards a better understanding of the Roman primacy. For the first time the right of appeal to the Bishop of Rome against the judgment of a Patriarch was *de facto* and synodically accepted. Other concessions granted to Rome at the Synod of 861 are important and fully testify to the primacy of this See. On the other hand, however, the Church of Constantinople very forcibly defended her administrative autocracy and her own customs and insisted that, at the Synod of 879-80, a canon be voted which confirmed to each Church her own usages.

This was a good foundation on which to develop relations between the two Churches. The history of the tetragamy conflict provoked by the fourth marriage of Leo VI shows that the right of appeal to the Roman See in disciplinary matters was still recognized in Byzantium in the tenth century. Actually, the Emperor's appeal to Rome, when Patriarch Nicholas Mysticus refused to allow his marriage, must be interpreted in this light, although it was ignored by the Patriarch and his followers. The request of Emperor Romanus I Lecapenus for confirmation from Rome of the election of his young son Theophylactus to patriarchal dignity was a

[39] Cf. my latest studies on Photius: *The Patriarch Photius in the Light of Recent Research* (Munich, 1958), pp. 30 ff. and "Patriarch Photius, Scholar and Statesman," *Classical Folia,* vol. 14 (1960), pp. 19 ff.

feeble reflection of a principle which had been more readily recognized by the Byzantines in the ninth century.

We can stop our investigations at the beginning of the eleventh century. The further development of the relations between East and West were overshadowed by political events. The restoration of the Western Roman Empire by the Saxon Kings, who appointed their own Popes, increased the mistrust. And the development of the mediaeval theory of the superiority of the spiritual over temporal power, put into practice by Gregory VII and his reformers, alienated the Byzantines even further, although the excommunication of Patriarch Michael Cerularius by the Papal legates in 1054 did not as yet mean a definite rupture.[40] This rupture widened during the Crusades and became definite after 1204 when Constantinople was seized by the Latins. Then it was that hostility against the claims of the Roman primacy were manifested in numerous instances and in political writings. It is useless to re-examine them. They were dictated by passion provoked by injustices inflicted by the Latins on the Greeks during the Crusades and the replies of the Latins were written often in the haughty spirit of *beati possidentes*.

If we wish to find a basis on which to build anew a rapprochement between Rome and the Orthodox Church, a rapprochement which will lead to union, we must look for this in the first ten centuries, during which period both Churches were still at one. In spite of misunderstandings, many of which have been often exaggerated, we will find this basis, if we are sincere, and both are willing to look for it and to accept it.

FRANCIS DVORNIK

Dumbarton Oaks
Washington, D. C.

[40] See the unbiased study by S. Runciman, *The Eastern Schism* (Oxford, 1955), pp. 28-54.

THE HUMILITY OF "THE POOR IN SPIRIT"

Our country has attained an average level of possession and use of material goods beyond the dreams of any other people in history. Our people more than any other need to heed our Lord's: "Blessed are the poor in spirit," or ours will not be the only real wealth—"The Kingdom of Heaven." Poverty as a virtue, that is, poverty of spirit, is an important realization of humility. We understand humility as a sense of creatureship—a sense of submission to our Creator's purpose for us and for our use of His other creatures. This sense is so important that Christ gives it first place in the Beatitudes, the declaration of the platform of His Kingdom. Around man's wayward acquisition and disposition of wealth swarm the capital vices like bees around their queen.

A diversity is found among commentators on the Beatitudes as to whether poverty of spirit means detachment from riches or humility. A third, and it seems more satisfactory, understanding can be had by combining both opinions, namely, humility as detachment from earthly goods. Poverty of spirit is largely the humble acknowledgement that we have not unlimited and unguided domain over material things, and that we must always preserve our proper relation to property, always dependent on the Will of the Supreme Owner and on His purpose for the use of it by us, His stewards. Simply said, poverty of spirit is the attitude of stewards towards material goods. Persons who are only stewards are poor persons, whether they dispose of ten talents or one talent of the Master's possessions.

Religious show this poverty of spirit by asking the permission of God in their superior, in order to use material things licitly. The layman, too, must always have God's permission to use his goods, which are really God's goods. This permission is had when the layman reasons and adheres to God's intention in his acquiring and using goods. This is news for many: we may not do what we please with our money.

It seems, according to Suarez, that there is no specific virtue of poverty. It is rather a steward's humble submission to his Master's designs for the use and disposal of His property. It is removal of inordinate attachment to possessions when they hinder the glory

of God in the practice of any of the virtues. Unprincipled quest of goods and arbitrary use of them are insubordination against God's purpose for the individual and for the goods. If less property, or less use of it, makes for God's glory through the perfecting of our nature thereby, we are to have and to use less; if more use of material goods effects a perfecting of our nature and more glory to God, we are to use more—we must remember, however, that we do not err usually by assigning ourselves too little goods for God's purpose in us. Whether one is a religious or layman, he is truly a poor man, truly poor in spirit, when he views himself in his relation to property as totally a steward, humbly fulfilling the Will of his Master as to his possession and use of things, great or small as it may be.

Paramount in such an attitude is humility, the proper relation which we preserve toward God and His creatures. Thus a wealthy man, as a religious, can be poor in spirit. To use property independently of God's intention in it is the intolerable haughtiness of a servant disposing of his employer's possessions, as though they were his own and to suit his own whims.

In one of fifty homilies, attributed to St. Macarius and of extensive influence on the spirituality of the early Church, the sense of stewardship was intensely inculcated in Christians as regards all kinds of goods, material and spiritual:

> If a king deposits a treasure with a poor man, the receiver does not consider it to be his own, but admits that he is a poor man. . . . He must keep in mind, not only that it is another's treasure deposited with him, but also that it is a king of the most sublime greatness who has entrusted it to him. . . . So those must think of themselves who acquire Grace. They must think of themselves humbly and confess their own poverty. The sign of Christianity is this, that he who is holy before God should strive to be unknown as holy before men. Thus, even though all the treasures of the King were deposited with him, He would keep them hidden and say to himself: the treasure is not mine; another has placed it with me; I am really a beggar.[1]

Poverty of spirit, humility of stewardship preserved so sedulously as regards spiritual goods in our possession, is certainly to be cultivated as regards material goods, which are even less ours than

[1] St. Macarius, *Hom.* 15, 27: *PG* 34: 593.

spiritual goods. Jacapone da Todi sings of the dignified nobility and fundamental sanctity of poverty of spirit:

> Poverty, sublime wisdom!
> To be subject to nothing,
> Despising all, to have
> All created things. . . .
> God lodges not in the narrow heart
> Which is as great as its loves;
> Poverty has so ample a bosom
> That the Deity lodges there.
> Poverty is nothing to have
> And nothing to desire,
> But all things to possess
> In the spirit of liberty.[2]

Socrates held that "those who want fewest things are nearest to the gods." We must practice "economy of means" if we would produce in ourselves the fine art of living. Mortification of the senses, required by beauty's economy in living, cuts off all that is reasonably unnecessary for our sense life, whether in our appointments, in our environment, in clothing, food or in anything else. Spiritual art requires this of all, not merely for religious, who profess it under vow; for we find nothing in religious perfection of living which, ***mutatis mutandis,*** is not perfection of Christianity in the layman. Privation of goods is not a virtue in itself. It greatly enhances virtue when it is a freely chosen means of perfecting our lives to God's glory. Holy privation must be humble privation as willed by God for us. Garbed in humility, the Poverello's Lady Poverty is "the best dressed woman." The "poor in spirit," who are called by our Lord, are usually poor; but the rich man can be poor in spirit, which generally he is not. The Hebrew word *'ani,* used by Isaias and the Psalms to express the poor man, signifies one resigned and submissive to God's Will—the humble man.

Religious poverty, like religious chastity and obedience, has not its value in the fact that what is freely given up is bad. In itself, private property is by no means intrinsically evil; in fact, it is generally necessary for God's greater glory in the prefecting of the ordinary individual's private and social nature. But it is likewise

[2] Jacapone da Todi, *Lauda 59.*

one of those creatures which tempt us most strongly to use them contrary to submissive humility. Property is a chief temptation to sin, either in acquiring or using it to sin by pride, sensuality, disregard of others' needs, and similar faults. It is a chief danger especially to humility, inasmuch as it gives a sense of material power, which readily disregards the authority of God and of morality over it.

The twenty-fifth Rule of St. Ignatius, similar to the Rule in other religious Orders, is in its spirit not outside the Christian spirit of the layman:

> The diet, apparel and lodging shall be such as beseem poor men; and let everyone persuade himself that the meanest things of house shall be given to him for his greater abnegation and spiritual profit.

It is a not-uncommon misunderstanding of poverty of spirit with priests and religious, to think that they observe poverty of spirit if they have the permission of their superior for disposing of material values. The obtaining of such permission is a fulfillment of due obedience, but not poverty of spirit unless the permitted use of material goods is due stewardship. One may have permission and yet fail in poverty of spirit because such property disposal is contrary to proper stewardship. Self-denial, too (so-called mortification), is another overtone, but misidentification, of poverty of spirit.

There is poverty as indigence, poverty of spirit, poverty as a vow. There is voluntary poverty, whether under vow or not. There is involuntary poverty (or indigence), in which there may, or may not, be poverty of spirit, as one is, or is not, resigned to it as God's Will. Legal poverty, as incapacity to possess and/or to use at will material goods, arises from the vow of poverty according to the constitutions of the Order in which it is made. There is great worth in the vow's genuine humility and in its added virtue of religion; but legal poverty of the vow, unlived, may render a sin the possession or use of goods not otherwise sinful. The spirit of the vow of poverty is not always clear to religious, with consequent defective practice of the vow. It is preserved when the religious lives as a poor person who is a steward, that is, when he or she strives to make the assets, which the Order commits to one's disposition, achieve the maximum glory to God. Thus a religious may

be perfectly poor in fact and in spirit, and still have the use of as many and as valuable goods as a wealthy person.

The superb orator, St. John Chrysostom, scorns (*In Psalm* 152; ed. Montfaucon, 1836, v.5, 544) the ideals, common in his and in all times, which make power, plenty and pride of possessions the principle and purpose of life:

> What can be more abject and base than those persons who burrow into riches' dominance and glory? They are base for two reasons: because they grovel on earth and because they esteem those things great, like children who think that balls, jacks, and such ludicrous objects, are precious. Those riches are not great and the minds that admire them are petty and base. . . . When an adult person thinks that dinners, luxuries and pleasures are the values of life, what can be more abject and base?[3]

Many persons, bereft of the spirit of poverty, accumulate about themselves a whole shopful of goods which impede fine spiritual living, a failure which even a pagan, Seneca, blamed: "If you place me in a house filled with valuable objects, I am none the better for it; those things are outside me." The interiorly rich person is impatient of unnecessary exterior things cluttering up his life, just as good architecture is impatient of additions to an edifice—no matter how rich and ornamental in themselves—which are not purposely constructive. We may appropriately ask ourselves: Am I a packrat, picking up and carrying off to my nest any shiny objects that I find? Such action is not poverty of spirit, not humility, not accord with the truth of life. There is a difference between a poor man and a cheap man. The diamond bracelet is often a fetter more enslaving than a manacle of iron.

Poverty of spirit is superiority of being over having; it is riches in oneself as opposed to riches in other things; it is the riches of Christ as opposed to the penury of mere wealth. Things that we own must be our satellites, so that by our course we determine their course. It is contrary to humility, our right relation to things and to God, to allow ourselves to become the satellites of accumulated possessions. Countless are the rich in things, who have lost themselves and their happiness, both of earth and of heaven, under the tyranny of ownership.

[3] St. John Chrysostom, *In Psalm 152* (Montfaucon edition, 1836: V, 544).

All sages of all time assert
The happy man's without a short.[4]

The chief element of our being is spiritual; but it is wedded to the material which serves as a means of exterior expression. We must not let the material cease to be the servant expressing our spiritual meaning, so that it usurps the meaning of our lives. We must have ink to express our meaning; but too much ink will blot it out. We must have in order to be; but too much having will blot out our being. "To enjoy oneself" is exactly what it says. We enjoy other things only "by extrinsic denomination," only inasmuch as they aid us to enjoy ourselves. The reason why people do not enjoy what their possessions are, is that there is nothing to enjoy in what they themselves are. Our bulwark defending us against unhappiness must be ourselves, not things heaped about us; otherwise, we build up about us a levee of sugar, which is only dissolved into and increases the flood submerging us.

Like an enemy army drawn into a vast country, we are dissipated and overwhelmed by the multitude of what is ours, so that eventually we become theirs. Our senses are often leaks through which ourselves flow out and are lost among external things. We are denatured by our possession of non-selves which take over possession of ourselves and make us to their image and likeness; as St. Francis of Assisi tells us:

> Holy poverty is a treasure so holy and so divine that we are not worthy to store it in our mean vessels, since this is that celestial virtue by which all earthly and fleeting things are trodden underfoot, and whereby all hindrances are lifted from the soul, so that she may be freely joined to God eternal.[5]

Humility is the re-possession and recapitulation of self through poverty of spirit which detaches the *papier-maché* front of material things falsifying the simplicity of Christ in us. Through humble poverty of spirit we work out our "return to nature," our return to our original supernature of participation in Christ, in lucidity and wholeness of living. We reject the poor riches of many things, except as they are the means to the opulence of the one Christ, unifying all life's ambitions: "All things are yours and you are

[4] Richard Haywood, *Be Merry, Friends.*
[5] St. Francis of Assisi, *Fioretti,* ch. 13.

Christ's"; all things are subservient to you; all things are centered in you, who, with all who really live, are centered in Christ.

FRANCIS J. MCGARRIGLE, S.J.

Seattle University
Seattle, Washington

FIFTY YEARS AGO

The leading article in *The American Ecclesiastical Review* for May, 1911, contributed by the famous biblical scholar, Fr. M. Lagrange, O.P., is entitled "American Excavations at Samaria." The excavations to which Fr. Lagrange refers were being conducted by some scholars from Harvard University. The author takes occasion to give a summary history of Samaria and to describe the findings from the excavations, which were begun in 1908. He emphasizes the spirit of friendliness and co-operation existing between the Harvard group and the priests of St. Stephen's Biblical School in Jerusalem. . . . "The Economic Side of the School Question" by Fr. J. Burns, C.S.C., of The Catholic University of America, discusses the interesting problem of the amount that American Catholics would save if all Catholic school-children were turned over to the public school system or if state support were given to our parochial schools. The problem is very complicated; however, the conclusion of Fr. Burns, in reference to the second hypothesis, is that "the amount that Catholics would save would be apt to be much less than is commonly supposed." However, he says, such a change "would mean the discontinuance of an unfair, though generally unfelt, attitude of discrimination against Catholics on the part of our state legislators." . . . Fr. B. Feeney, in "The Study of Moral Theology in the Seminary," calls for a more positive approach to this branch, with particular emphasis on the virtue of charity. . . . Fr. H. Schroeder, O.P., discussing "Theology and Pulpit Oratory," calls for a deep knowledge of the Church's teachings on the part of a priest who would essay to be an effective preacher. . . . Several writers debate the lawfulness of vasectomy imposed by the civil law for the purpose of preventing degenerate offspring (this controversy has now been definitely settled in favor of the negative side by Pope Pius XI in *Casti connubii*). . . . A decree of the Holy Office in the Analecta permits the presence of the American flag in church during religious ceremonies and funerals "in as far as there will be no disrespect resulting in regard to the church and sacred liturgy." . . . "An Old Pastor" asks for the institution of an evening Mass with permission for the faithful to receive Holy Communion after a fast of six hours. (We hope that the good priest lived to see his hope fulfilled by Pope Pius XII.) F. J. C.

LITURGICAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE ESSENCE OF THE MASS

It is always interesting to discover what a learned non-Catholic thinks about Catholic worship. In several conversations with Lucien Price, the eminent Harvard philosopher Alfred North Whitehead describes two aspects of Catholic worship that impress him.[1] One is *silence,* as in the quiet and meditative prayer before the statue of a saint; the other is *music,* especially in the sung Mass.

These observations are provocative. In a culture that emphasizes "togetherness," we are working toward a more corporate worship in the Mass. This trend is in the accidentals of the Mass, since the essence of the Mass is of its nature social. In the interest in this trend, we should never lose sight of the individual's devotions, and we should never allow external participation to be the occasion of the overlooking of private devotion. Similarly, any emphasis on the external solemnity of the Mass should never obscure the essentially social nature of the Mass.

We have recently made changes in the structure of the Mass for the first time in centuries. These changes are for a more outward participation of the laity in the Mass. Hence, there is the cutting down of what might have originally been purely proper to the devotion of the priest, such as the Last Gospel when a function is to follow the Mass immediately. There is the elimination of what is non-pertinent, such as the *Confiteor* before the Communion of the faithful, insofar as this pertains properly to Communion outside of Mass. There is also the restricting of the distribution of Communion to the faithful until after the communion of the priest.

The reasons for these changes are that a more proper appreciation of the Mass itself be emphasized. That is, that even such a sacred function as the reception of what St. Thomas calls the most worthy of the sacraments be not allowed to come between the faithful and the proper sequence of the Mass itself.[2]

[1] *The Dialogues of Alfred North Whitehead,* edited by Lucien Price (New York: New American Library, 1956), pp. 132, 250.

[2] *III,* q. 65, art. 3.

There are also other practices urged by the above official decrees, for a closer participation of the faithful in the action of the Mass; one of these would be dialogue Masses. Unofficially, others have suggested the recitation of Psalm 42 in procession rather than at the foot of the altar. These latter customs can vary, and most likely will do so. That is, they are the sort of thing that can fall into disuse after the novelty wears off. Or, more precisely, they are the sort of actions that lend themselves to enthusiastic adoption and gradual relegation to mere conformity to custom, once the enthusiasm has vented itself.

The problem of Mass in the vernacular is associated with the new interest in the liturgy and participation in the Mass. The chief argument for Mass in the vernacular is the better understanding of the Mass by the faithful by presenting it in a language they can follow. The chief argument against it is the comparatively wide extent of the Latin rite and the fact that the common language of Latin makes the Mass recognizable as such in those parts of the world where the Latin rite is used.

This new interest in the liturgy of the Mass is a praiseworthy movement. It is, above all, a movement that demands clear, objective, and dispassionate consideration. It is, also, the type of movement that of itself almost precludes such objective consideration. The reasons for this are threefold.

The first reason is that it touches something close to us by way of conviction, volition, and emotional tendency. We are concerned with the Sacrifice of Christ in its reenactment. This, of course, is fundamental to our Catholic faith. It means much to us. Hence, our conviction is quite apt to be the principle of strong volition. We are not satisfied with a conviction. We will to see our convictions in operation. Since both the conviction and volition are intense, strong emotions are aroused. We feel strongly on the subject, and the fact that we can picture our convictions with a view to particular action in a given and limited direction operates against abstract consideration. Hence, we find objectivity difficult to maintain.

The second reason for the difficulty of objectivity is that any one or all of the liturgical changes mentioned above satisfy a particular need. Moreover, they have worked successfully in particular cases. They have stirred up the interest and enthusiasm of the

faithful in a given diocese or parish where they have been tried. They have been the occasion of the return of lapsed Catholics to the sacraments, and hence are that much the more appreciated. The thinking, then, is that since they have shown themselves to this extent successful, they should be extended to the universal Church, and even made mandatory. Success in a given case militates against anyone's wishing to wait for further consideration. Consideration seems superfluous in the face of openly successful results.

The third reason standing in the way of objectivity is that this liturgical trend, like every good movement, arouses the interest of imprudent enthusiasts. These have done harm to every good movement, and it is the obligation of the prudent champions of liturgical changes to be wary of these. It is also the duty of the critics of liturgical advances to avoid the fringe enthusiasts and to evaluate the movement on its own merits.

ESSENTIAL POINT

One thing, however, that should never be overlooked in any consideration of liturgical changes is that with or without the changes, any Mass said by any priest with or without either a silent or vocal congregation, with or without the communion of the faithful, is the sacrifice of Christ.[3] A solemn Mass in which each member of the congregation sings both the Proper and the Ordinary is the Sacrifice of Christ. So is a Mass said in the quiet of an oratory or a mission chapel. Both the champions and the questioners of liturgical changes should never overlook that fact.

These problems are not new. Almost every one of them has been considered by the Council of Trent in its Twenty-Second Session, September 17, 1562.[4] Moreover, as treated by the Council, these problems had a greater urgency than they do now. Today these doctrinal points do not face the outstandingly urgent pressure of the Reformation in its open revolt against the authority of the Church, in its new teachings about worship and the sacraments, and in its emphasis upon scandals in the life of Church members and officials. Every one of these problems can be seen in the main points of the teachings and the canons of the Council.

[3] Cf. John L. Murphy, "The Church Offers the Mass," *AER*, CXLII (1960), 164-177, 234-246.

[4] Denz. 937a-956.

The emphasis in the teaching of the Council is that the Mass is the Sacrifice of Christ, founded at the Last Supper with a view to the Sacrifice of the Cross and reenacted in the Mass through the power of the sacrament of Holy Orders.[5] The Mass as the Sacrifice of Christ was founded by Christ; the liturgy, even the Canon of the Mass, was founded by the Church.

Furthermore, the Mass is not a mere "bare" commemoration of the Last Supper.[6] It is, of itself, propiatory for the living and the dead. Of itself it is an offering to God for the glory of God. After that comes its fruitfulness, or "spiritual effect," for the faithful.

Although the Council urges the reception of the Blessed Eucharist at every Mass, the Mass still remains the Sacrifice of Christ having its own worth and fruitfulness whether or not the faithful receive Communion.[7]

The doctrine about the Mass as the Sacrifice of Christ is uncompromising. Theological problems discussed by the theologians of the Mass, such writers as Gihr, De la Taille, McNabb, and Billot, are not about that point. They are about the relations of action of the Mass to the action of the Sacrifice of the Cross, and they all hinge about the meaning of immolation in relation to the act of offering. These theories do not enter into the uncompromising doctrine of the Mass as the Sacrifice of Christ.

It is interesting to note that the Council raises the question of Mass in the vernacular.[8] Although the Council is sympathetic to the teaching and edifying value of the doctrine contained within the actual wording of the Mass, it still prefers Latin as more "expedient" at that particular point in history. Hence, it forbids Mass in the vernacular.[9]

This, however, should not be made too much of by the opponents to Mass in the vernacular. We must remember that Luther had introduced the vernacular on the grounds that the understanding of the prayers determined the spiritual effect of the actual sacrifice

[5] Denz. 936, 948, 949, 950.
[6] Denz. 950.
[7] Denz. 944, 955.
[8] Denz. 946, 956.
[9] Cf. Herman A. P. Schmidt, S.J., *Liturgie et langue vulgaire* (Romae: Universitas Gregoriana, 1950).

itself. Naturally, the Church was going to be most emphatic in opposition to such a position. This was a problem of the times, and the Church legislated against erroneous doctrine at the time. It is, on the other hand, an indication that the Fathers of the Council associated Latin with the continued tradition of the Church.

The Council raises the question of changes in the Canon of the Mass. It states quite clearly that the Canon was developed by the Church and is not of the direct foundation of Christ.[10] Familiar as we are with the Canon, it is still a source of amazement in the conciseness of its theological accuracy concerning the Sacrifice of Christ as the focus of the Old Testament and the New Testament, the redemptive climax of the Communion of Saints. It is this insofar as the primary purpose of the redemption is the glory of God. In this, the saints of the Old Testament are redeemed, just as the Old Testament is a vast preparation for redemption itself. The redemption is also the salvation of the saints of the Christian era and the hope of redemption for sinners of all times. The Church's reluctance to make any changes in the Canon must be viewed from the point of its concise presentation of the doctrine of the Communion of Saints in the very action of the reenactment of the sacrifice of Christ.

This might well indicate the attitude of our spirituality and instruction in the light of liturgical changes in relation to the Mass. The sacrifice was established by Christ Himself. The Canon of the Mass is significant in its doctrinal presentation of the significance of the sacrifice in the communion of saints. This has developed and been formulated in the Church and by the Church. Nevertheless, it is so accurate and so close to the act of sacrifice itself that it stands on its own strength. Insofar as it has been founded by the Church it can be changed by the Church. Nevertheless, any such changes would seem to be slight because they can scarcely be considered necessary.

The same can be said for the Offertory. It is a marvellously concise statement of the purpose of sacrifice: the glory of God and the dedication of the donor to God. The relation of the faithful to the Sacrifice of Christ is anticipated in the proper offertory prayers, in the prayer for the blessing of water, and by the addi-

[10] Denz. 947, 957.

tion of water to the wine in the chalice. The Council of Trent gives this a twofold significance: (1) the representation of the water that flowed with the redemptive blood after the spear of the soldier pierced the side of Christ; (2) the inclusion of the faithful as an integral part of the sacrifice. Again, it would seem that the Church would hesitate to introduce any changes in the Offertory. The whole Offertory is too close to the sacrifice to risk any changes. The expression of the Offertory aloud and in the vernacular could easily be allowed if such be practical and needed.

The Introit, Collect, Scripture Readings, Creed, Communion, and Post-communion are the sum of developments that have gradually grown about the Mass. Here, of course, there is a wider possibility of changes. Here, too, is where contemporary needs can enter into the liturgy of the Mass.

Here, too, is where we must be especially careful. Problems are going to be created by any changes and enthusiasm is going to be generated by them. There is the danger therein that the participants might lose sight of the main point of the Mass. As changes come, their significance will receive a great deal of attention by way of explanation. Hence the explanation must be with a view to the essence of the Mass, the sacrifice of Christ. As any changes proceed from the Church, we may be sure that they will have no other purpose than to make the meaning of the Mass more explicit. Nevertheless, the faithful are not theologians. The burden of making these changes fully understandable will be ours. No matter what changes may be made, no matter if any changes be made, we must be constant in our emphasis that the Mass under any form of presentation, whether the pontifical celebration or the Mass on a side altar, whether at a Eucharistic Congress or in an isolated chapel, is always the Sacrifice of Christ.

LEO A. FOLEY, S.M.

The Catholic University of America
Washington, D. C.

DAILY LIFE IN ANCIENT ISRAEL

It is somewhat difficult for the average modern Catholic to transport himself back, in imagination, to the life of the Jewish race as it must have been lived in Old Testament times. Following the universal tendency of men to think that things must always have been as they are now in our own lives, we can only too easily think that the people of the Old Testament differed from us only in the fact that they lived at an earlier time and in another part of the world. Actually, there was a considerable difference, as even a moment's thought on the question would lead us to believe.[1]

The biblical man's diet was quite simple. Wheat and barley were the current grains and were eaten cooked or parched on a hot plate, or ground into flour by crushing the grain between two pieces of stone. The common vegetables were lentils, coarse beans, and cucumbers; squash and pumpkin, tomato and potato were as yet unknown. Flavoring was supplied by onions, leeks, and garlic.

The basic fruits were figs, dates, grapes, pomegranates, and sycamore figs. Olives were used especially for their oil. Figs, raisins, and dates were dried for future use. Oranges and bananas were introduced only after the Arab conquest (7th century A.D.).

The Book of Samuel probably illustrates the typical ancient daily diet.[2] Abigail brought to David's band, bread, wine, parched grain, raisins, and figcakes. The text mentions also five sheep, but for ordinary people meat was reserved for special occasions and was not part of ordinary meals.

[1] In regard to the material treated in this article, cf.: H. T. Peck, *Harper's Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities* (New York: American Book Company); A. G. Barrois, *Manuel d'archéologie biblique*, 2 vols (Paris: Éditions Auguste Picard, 1939, 1953); *Everyday Life in Ancient Times* (Washington, D. C.: National Geographic Society, 1951); M. S. and J. L. Miller, *Harper's Bible Dictionary* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1952); J. J. Von Allmen, *Vocabulaire biblique* (Neuchâtel: Delachaux et Niestle, 1954); James B. Pritchard, *The Ancient New East in Pictures* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954); W. Corswant, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie biblique* (Neuchâtel: Delachaux et Niestle, 1954); G. Ernest Wright, *Biblical Archeology* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1957).

[2] *I Sam.* 25:18.

The chief domesticated animals were sheep, goats, cattle and donkeys. Poultry and eggs seem to have been introduced in Palestine only after the exile; eggs were commonly used as food at the time of Our Lord.[3] Oxen, calves, heifers figured prominently in Old Testament sacrifices.

Sheep were of the fat-tail variety. The tail of these sheep often weighs more than ten pounds and its fat was considered a great delicacy, even as it is today among Arab peasants.[4] The flesh of the sheep is still the main meat in Bible lands and their wool serves for clothing. Goat's meat was also eaten, and their hair woven into cloth which was used for tents[5] and also for cheaper clothes.[6] Goats' skins were used as containers for wine.[7] The chief value of goats, in Bible times even as today among the Arabs, was as producers of milk, of which they were the chief source. Arabs prefer goats' milk to that of cows.

Leban, a sort of yoghurt made from soured milk, is one of the oldest and best loved foods of Bible lands. When a bit of leban is added to fresh milk to make it ferment, the mixture when shaken, e.g. in a goatskin bag, turns to butter and buttermilk. The latter is put into little cloth sacks and the water squeezed out of it; and the cheese-like leban when rolled into balls keeps indefinitely. All sorts of cheeses were prized, especially those made from camel's milk. The Bedouins often dry their cheese on their tents.

Fish was eaten and was plentiful along the Mediterranean and the Sea of Galilee. Phoenician merchants shipped seafood to Jerusalem markets where it was sold near the Fish Gate.[8] Fish products from Galilee were salted and dried and sent great distances.

Salt was secured in the Biblical period as now, by evaporation in beds or pans from waters along the rim of the Dead Sea and the Mediterranean. It was also mined from cliffs along the Dead Sea.[9]

Sugar was unknown but honey was extensively produced in the highland apiaries and shipped abroad. Candies made of dates, honey

[3] *Luke* 11:12.
[4] *Exod.* 29:22; *I Sam.* 9:24.
[5] *Exod.* 35:6, 23, 26; *Num.* 31:20.
[6] *Heb.* 11:37.
[7] *Josue* 9:4.
[8] *Neh.* 3:3; 13:16.
[9] *Soph.* 2:9.

and nuts were so plentiful and excellent that they were exported to Tyre (Ez. 27:17). In Bible times as now, sticky sweetmeats, of which the people are very fond, were always available in the bazaars.

BREAD AND BREADMAKING

Bread in Bible lands was the basic nourishment.[10] It was made of wheat or more frequently barley which may be called the bread of the poor.[11] The grain was ground with mortar and pestle,[12] or between two revolving stones,[13] or between the miller's larger stones.[14] Kneading in an Egyptian painting is done by foot.

People frequently ate their bread unleavened and not only for the Passover. The leaven when used was a piece of dough left over from a preceding batch.[15] Bread in Palestine is still usually cooked on a simple metal plate and takes the form of a large round flat pancake. Hence an Arab proverb saying that a hypocrite is two-faced like a loaf of bread. Hence also the custom of breaking bread rather than cutting it. The round pancake-like loaves were so pliable that they could be bent spoon-shape for dipping up gravies and juices. Palestinian bread loaves were also baked in the shape of stones in the wildnerness.[16] Three such loaves, about 3,500 years old, were found at Thebes and are now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City.

Bread was an important element in Old Testament sacrifices. It also naturally found its way into many Hebrew proverbs.[17] Christ climaxed all proverbial wisdom concerning bread when he said, "Man shall not live by bread alone,"[18] and he made the Eucharistic bread the sacramental sign of his presence and action in the Church.

WINE

The soil of Palestine has always been favorable to the cultivation of the vine. Grapes were eaten fresh and dried into cakes, but

[10] *Is.* 3:1.
[11] *John* 6:9.
[12] *Num.* 11:8
[13] *Matt.* 24:41.
[14] *Judges* 16:21; *Matt.* 18:6.
[15] *Matt.* 13:33.
[16] *Matt.* 4:3.
[17] *Prov.* 20:17; 28:19.
[18] *Matt.* 4:4.

most of the crop was pressed into juice for wine. Egyptian wall paintings and reliefs show clearly the operation of wine presses. The grapes were trodden by singing servants who, to prevent themselves from slipping into the juicy mash, clung to ropes suspended from a framework.

Wine was in common use in Palestine but it would be a mistake to suppose that it was the invariable accompaniment of a meal, especially for poor people who usually had to be satisfied with water.[19] It was, however, a necessary item for any festive occasion, especially weddings.

The Jews like the Romans and the Greeks generally drank their wine liberally mixed with water.[20] To drink unmixed wine was regarded as a sign of great intemperance.

Jesus in his parables used many figures drawn from the vineyard and at the Last Supper changed the Passover wine to the sacramental new wine of our Christian communion. Along with wine we frequently find mention of *sekar* which is probably beer, a very well known beverage in ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia.[21]

CLOTHING

Most of the clothing worn in biblical Palestine was made of wool or linen. Articles of apparel included a loincloth; a tunic reaching to the ankles and close-fitting at the neck; and a mantle[22] or outer garment useful as a storm garment or a covering at night during journeys. People of the better class also wore a sort of undershirt. The garments for women were much the same as those worn by men.

Shoes were usually very crude, simple pieces of hide drawn together with thongs or cords with no right or left. Indoors, sandals were removed. Travelers often carried their shoes to save them until they entered cities, as Bedouins do today.

The headdress developed in the form of a folded square cloth worn as a veil for protection against the sun, or wrapped as a turban.

[19] *Is.* 3:1.
[20] *II Mach.* 15:39.
[21] *I Sam.* 1:15; *Is.* 28:7; *Luke* 1:15.
[22] *Luke* 6:29.

Hair and beards were worn long by Hebrew men of Bible times; they abhorred baldness. Women also wore their hair long and already practiced artificial curling.

The ancient Egyptian to whom cleanliness and coolness were important wore hair very short or shaved, using elaborate wigs for women and men in public appearances. Kings and some queens, like Hatshepsut, wore ceremonial beards held on by straps. Private individuals had a small beard scarcely two inches long; that of a king was of considerable length, square at the bottom; and the figures of gods were distinguished by its turning up at the end. After death it was permitted to afix a divine beard on the statues of kings and all other persons who were judged worthy of admittance to the Elysium of futurity.

Babylonians and Assyrians gave meticulous attention to the grooming of their long black hair and well-set curly beards, as clearly shown in excavated bas-reliefs. They were fond of intricate croquinole curling designs.

GAMES

Games though not mentioned in Scripture are known by archeological evidence to have been popular in Bible lands since 5000 B.C. In ancient Bible times, as today, people of the Middle East spent much time playing checkers, backgammon, and chess. In almost every excavation of ancient sites gaming boards have been found, often of limestone, divided into squares. Pebbles, small conical stones, bones or pieces of clay were used as gaming pieces. Dice, often of precious materials, were also used.

Perhaps the most eloquent gaming board found in Palestine is the one scratched on the stone pavement of Pilate's Jerusalem praetorium[23] seen today in the crypt of the church of the Dames de Sion. It could well be that the Roman guard played there during Our Lord's trial.

Since stadia, amphitheaters, and gymnasia had been introduced in Judaea by Antiochus Epiphanes and Herod, both Jesus and Paul must have been familiar with the favorite Greco-Roman athletic contests which included wrestling, running, and discus

[23] *John* 18:19.

throwing. In the Gospel of Matthew, Jesus uses the comparison of children in the streets playing at wedding and funeral.[24] Baby rattles and clay horses were found in the excavations at Gezer.

Conversation and storytelling was clearly the favorite pastime of Biblical people and the Hebrew had raised the exercise to an art in which they excelled.

ERNEST LUSSIER, S.S.S.

St. Joseph's Seminary
Cleveland, Ohio

[24] *Matt.* 11:17.

MARIAN MILESTONES

On Dec. 8, 1959, Pope John XXIII by the Motu Proprio, *Maiora in dies,* raised the International Marian Academy to pontifical status. At the time when he placed this scholarly body on the list of Academies which merit the special praise and protection of the Church, His Holiness revealed that it was his intention to create a permanent body for the regulation of Mariological and Marian Congresses to be held periodically in the future. This news was greeted with joy by Mariologists who saw the action of the Holy Father as the beginning of a new epoch of Mariology and of Marian piety.

That there is a great deal of justification for this enthusiasm can be seen by comparing the histories of Eucharistic Congresses and Mariological-Marian Congresses. We may wonder whether the first Eucharistic Congress of 1881 would have been followed by 37 more since then if a Committee for Eucharistic Congresses had not been created at that time. On the other hand Marian Congresses begun at Lyons in 1900 and held regularly until 1912, when interrupted by World War I, were discontinued until 1950 when they were resumed under the aegis of the International Marian Academy. The Marian Congress is a manifestation of Catholic devotion to our Lady. When revived in 1950 at Rome the demonstration of popular piety was held in conjunction with a gathering of Mariologists who met to discuss the theology of the Blessed Mother in a Mariological Congress. Since that time the Congress has always been called Mariological-Marian to bring out the twofold aspect of the meeting.

The permanent Committee for International Eucharistic Congresses has been governed by Statutes laid down by the Holy See. Their present form, which is the result of many years' experience, was given approval in 1953. With these Statutes as a model similar norms have been established for Mariological-Marian Congresses in the *Statuta Stabilis Consilii Mariologico-Marianis Internationalibus Conventibus Provehendis.* These Statutes were approved together with the *Statuta Peculiaria Pontificiae Academiae Marianae Internationalis* on July 4, 1960, and are published as an appendix to the latter.

These *Statuta* have been issued with a very significant introductory letter from Cardinal Tardini, the Secretary of State. His Eminence communicated the approval of the Statutes by the Holy Father and revealed that Pope John had designated Alfredo Cardinal Ottaviani as Protector of the Academy, and Archbishop Maurice Roy of Quebec as President of the Permanent Council for International Mariological-Marian Congresses.

The naming of Cardinal Ottaviani emphasized that the Pontifical Marian Academy has been placed under the supreme moderatorship and guardianship of the Cardinal Protector. Under him the Academy is governed by its Council, which is made up of a President, a Secretary, and at least six members chosen from among the ordinary members who live in Rome or its suburbs. The first President is the organizer of the Academy, Fr. Carlo Balic. The Academy is made up of ordinary and associated members. The number of ordinary members is restricted to eighty, at least ten of whom must live in Rome or its suburbs, whereas the number of associated members is unlimited. The work of this Pontifical Marian Academy will be to promote and foster studies, especially scientific studies, about the most blessed Virgin Mary, and at the same time to provide for the growth of Marian piety.

One of the means by which this work will be carried on will be collaboration with the Permanent Council for International Mariological-Marian Congresses in setting up and conducting these Congresses. Besides the President the Permanent Council is composed of a Vice-President who is the President of the Marian Academy and who acts as the Secretary of the Council; a Vice-Secretary who is always the Secretary of the same Academy; two or more Councilors; the Presidents of the local Council where the last International Congress was held and of the local Council where the next Congress will take place; the Secretary-General of the Permanent Committee for International Eucharistic Congresses; and a Treasurer. All of these appointments are made by the Holy See.

The organization of the Marian Academy and of the Council for International Congresses corresponds to a need of the time. That there is considerable interest in the Mother of God in our day among Catholics on all levels is beyond question. Theologians are restudying the privileges of our Lady with all the resources

of learning and with considerable energy, while devotion to their Blessed Mother grows apace in the hearts of the faithful. The new organizations and the new legislation will channel this activity in such a way that it will be able to avoid the double danger of undue exaggeration and minimization. Thus by an ever greater penetration into the mystery of Mary through knowledge and love of her we are led to her Son.

The first of the International Mariological-Marian Congresses to be held under the new *Statuta* will take place in Canada in late August and early September, 1962. The Mariological section will hold its meetings in Ottawa from August 21 to August 28; from August 29 to September 2 the Marian section will meet at Cap-de-la-Madeleine in connection with the solemn dedication of the now building National Shrine of Our Lady of the Cape.

Since the coming Congress in Canada will meet in the shadow of the Ecumenical Council to be held at the Vatican it is obvious that the theme of the Mariological sessions ought to correspond to the purpose of the Holy Father in calling the Council: unity. For this reason, after consultations with Mariologists in various parts of the world it was decided that the theme of the Congress would be "Mary in Sacred Scripture according to the Interpretations of Catholics and Non-Catholics through the Centuries."

It is the hope of those who conceived this theme that the coming Congress will contribute in no small measure to that unity which is so close to the heart of Pope John XXIII and which is the desire of all who love our Lord. Certainly no one will place a limit on what she, who is the Mediatrix of Grace, may accomplish by her intercessory power. At the same time we must recognize that the Catholic doctrine on our Lady is a stone of stumbling for many outside the Church. As a preparation for this Congress the theologians, and even the seminarians, of our country could restudy in depth the Scriptural foundation for our belief and our devotion for her who is the Mother of God. In this way the first Mariological-Marian Congress to be held in our Hemisphere will have its full impact upon us, and may under the Providence of God help to bring about the unity so dear to the Heart of Christ.

ALBAN ANTHONY MAGUIRE, O.F.M.

Holy Name College
Washington, D. C.

A NEW PASTORAL AID

In working with souls either in the parish or the school, we will all encounter from time to time individuals who are eager to live the spiritual life with more than ordinary vigor. Apart from the hardened sinner, the man or woman in an invalid marriage, those involved in family difficulties, and the like, the priest also has a responsibility to these souls desirous of something more. For them, even the routine assistance at daily Mass and the reception of Holy Communion is not enough to give them all that they want and all they need. Yet there is always the danger that, in becoming involved with the problems of the less saintly under our care, we may neglect the assistance we owe to those men and women who are anxious to make real progress in the spiritual life.

One of the reasons priests have hesitated to attempt to do much for souls in this category is the realization that they did not know how to go about it. There was Tanquerey's *Spiritual Life* of seminary days, and a shelf of similar works; yet these do not quite seem to fit the need of these individuals. They are searching not simply for general principles required by a spiritual guide, but rather for something adapted to their particular way of life and their particular problems.

To meet this need, a new project has been undertaken; its success will depend in large measure upon the co-operation of English-speaking priests in helping to make use of this new pastoral aid and in bringing it to those men and women under their care who can most benefit by it. This aid is to be a new quarterly review of Christian spirituality, entitled *The Way*.[1] The first issue appeared in January, 1961.

The Way is to be published by the Jesuits at *The Month* in London; Fr. Philip Caraman, the editor of *The Month*, is one of the three editors of the new quarterly. The contributors to *The Way*, however, will not all be Jesuits; it is hoped that breadth of vision will be aided by a large number of diverse writers. The periodical itself is to be addressed to all those who are interested in living the spiritual life intelligently and vigorously, whatever their state

[1] *The Way*, 31 Farm Street, London W. 1, England. $5.00 per year.

of life. Within Christ's Mystical Body at present, the Holy Spirit is manifestly stirring up thought-currents which are highly characteristic of our own times. The aim of *The Way* is to give helpful and inspiring guidance to all those who want to live in close harmony with those currents.

According to the plans announced by the editors, the articles will take much account of the life of grace, the liturgy, and recent thought in the fields of Scripture, patrology, ascetical and mystical theology. All this seems to be neatly summarized and connoted by the appropriate title, *The Way*. The new review aims to point out the way in which an earnest Christian can achieve a rich fulfillment of his spiritual potentialities as a member of Christ's Mystical Body in our day. In other words, Christ is the true *way* who by means of His revealed *truth* showed men how to *live in such a manner* that each one can achieve in himself the full development of his human nature supernaturalized by grace. His words are unmistakably clear: "I am the way, and the truth, and the life";[2] and they clearly manifest His desire of a more abundant supernatural life for everyone who has been incorporated into His Church. In fact, every member of His Church is already living with that life of Christ precisely as He is extending Himself through time by means of His Mystical Body. The purpose of *The Way* is to help the interested member to live that life more richly.

In addition to Fr. Caraman, the new periodical has two other European Jesuits as its editors: Fr. James Walsh and Fr. William Yeomans. But it is intended to be a truly international magazine for all the English-speaking countries. Hence it also has Jesuit editorial advisors from many lands: Father John L. Swain, Vicar-General of the Society of Jesus, in Rome; Donal O'Sullivan in Ireland; John McKenzie and Herbert Musurillo in the United States; Elmer O'Brien in Canada; and Peter Little in Australia.

The Way is not a magazine founded chiefly to give scholars an organ in which to publish the fruits of their research or thought. That, of course, would be a laudable purpose; but *The Way* aims at something different. It proposes to tackle problems in the spiritual life and throw on them the light which competent modern writers can gather from Scripture, the Fathers, the best spiritual

[2] *John* 14:6.

writers of the past or present, and from their own reflections in adapting the wisdom of the past to the needs of the present.

THEMATIC PRESENTATION

Most of each issue will be centered about one theme. The four themes for the first year have already been announced. Looking ahead to Ash Wednesday and the problem of how to spend Lent in the modern world, *The Way* for January devoted four articles to the living of the Christian life in the penitential season. They seek to show us how we can progress with the suffering Christ to our resurrection with Him. Again and again the liturgy of the Paschal season will exhort us to rejoice. Hence *The Way* for April will treat the nature of that joy in the Lord which results from our previous baptism into His death. Summer will bring many to their annual retreat. *The Way* for July will treat the problems, difficulties, and opportunities of those who make an annual or regular retreat. The waning weeks of Autumn will bring the New Year of the Church. Hence *The Way* for October will draw on the liturgy of Advent to treat the function of hope in the life of the Church.

In addition to the main articles, the editors plan to present regular supporting features. There will be *texts* of a page or two, drawn from the Fathers or later spiritual writers, to provide matter for prayerful reflection in the context of the articles; *Scripture readings* in short extracts with a spiritual commentary designed to aid prayerful reading; short *meditations,* in harmony with the theme, to illustrate the various methods of mental prayer; a *Spiritual Vocabulary* which will study key words that are often imperfectly understood, such as *compunction, consolation,* or *purity of heart;* and *Recommended Reading* which will give critical surveys of more noteworthy spiritual literature. Each year, two of these surveys will be devoted to England and America, and two to other countries.

The editors have indeed laid their plans well. Yet plans taken alone always remain abstract. How they work out in the concrete can be shown by a brief résumé of the chief contents which have appeared in *The Way* for its first issue, January, 1961.

Before he began to compose, each contributor received from the editorial board a set of mimeographed directions. They explained

that the general purpose and scope of *The Way* is to assist the faithful in English-speaking countries to think with Christ, to love Him, and to live with Him precisely as He is extending Himself through His Mystical Body in the circumstances of the present day. They further explained the theme of the first issue and the function of each article in developing this theme.

The first four contributors were chosen from the major English-speaking countries. They were requested to write editorials which would explain that this is "the acceptable time"—the opportunity for the Church to express herself in terms of the intellectual and cultural environment in these respective countries. These authors were to show how the Church is striving to help the men of each region achieve the fulfillment of their deeper needs and aspirations, to develop and direct under the guidance of the Holy Spirit the talents peculiar to the present generation.

FIRST RESULTS

Fr. Martin C. D'Arcy was chosen to explain this general purpose in his lead editorial on "Modern Spirituality." Father D'Arcy, ordained in 1921 and well known for his lectures, articles, books, and administrative experience ever since he became Master of Campion Hall, Oxford, in 1933, gives us some sound, stimulating, and winning reflections on changes through which he has lived in his 72 years.

Since 1900, he thinks, there has been a marked shift of emphasis in spiritual direction. Early in our century so much time was given in seminaries and textbooks to the controversies on actual grace that sanctifying grace was relatively passed over in teaching and preaching. The causes of this go far back into history. The Council of Trent had to restore discipline and organization, and to deter individual Catholics from embracing heretical doctrines. Hence the Counter-reformation spontaneously stressed an asceticism concerned with perfecting the individual person through practice of the "active virtues" and active prayer. This stress will always be a necessary first step towards a sound spiritual life. But modern Catholic interest is now advancing to the further perfection of the individual person through his richer participation in the corporate life of the Church. After 1500, many false mystics also brought suspicion on contemplative prayer. But now the field is

better charted, and a healthy interest has arisen in sound forms of contemplation. Holy Communion is seen more clearly as the culmination of the Eucharistic sacrifice which Christ offers through His Mystical Body. Further still, the theological virtues characteristic of the unitive stage of progress are seen as having a priority over the active or moral virtues which they fructify and motivate.

Fr. Paul Crane, treating the opportunity in today's England, finds that hitherto the Church there has been largely on the defensive. Catholics have viewed their Faith pretty much as a discipline to which they should remain loyal through thick and thin. By contrast, the early Christians saw their faith as something which brings fulfillment of the potentialities of life after the frustrations of paganism; and this desire to communicate such an enriched life was the secret of their missionary success. However, many young Catholics in England—such as those in the new organizations of Catholic Action—are asking that depth be given to their knowledge and practice of the spiritual life. Hence now is the acceptable time for the Church, through her seminaries and motherhouses, to produce priests and sisters who will stress Catholicism as a life and a worship more than as a code, as something which fulfills the love which these youths manifest for enrichment in Christ, that is, for meaningful life on earth as well as in heaven. Much more than one generation is at stake.

Fr. Walter M. Abbott, an associate editor of *America,* finds in the United States (as in other countries) a secularistic trend in public and private morality. Yet only a little beneath the surface are stirrings of an enormous vitality of American Catholic life and culture. These forces are still somewhat latent; however, they have won the admiration of visitors from Europe and hold great promise for the future. American Catholics, as Dawson wrote, "have changed the religious landscape of America and . . . become the largest, the strongest and the most united religious body on the continent." They are giving vigorous support to their parishes, their vast Catholic educational system, and the Catholic press; they are bringing parents as well as youths to see the value of priestly and religious vocations, they are exercising self-criticism to ferret out and remedy defects. The liturgical movement and the retreat movement have made their way through many parishes,

and a deep knowledge of philosophy and theology have spread among the laity to a surprising degree. The American bishops have assigned to the laity the top role in the reconstruction of the social order—though this role is somewhat impeded because too many laymen and even some priests still feel that it is the priest's job to supervise too many details. Now is the acceptable time for these healthy forces in American Catholicism to receive further guidance and encouragement of a positive nature in order that the Church may exercise her proper influence on the educational, economic, and political institutions of the nation.

Treating Australia, Fr. Philip J. Gleeson recalls that Catholics everywhere have the perennial spiritual problem of achieving a right attitude toward the material world. In our day the laity have a special part to play in developing this outlook, because they should immerse themselves in the affairs of the material world to consecrate it to God—especially in areas where the vocation of priests and religious precludes their direct activity. The Australian Catholic now finds himself face to face with the problem of putting a Catholic leaven into a country which is rapidly expanding with the aid of the strong forces applied by modern industrial productivity. The Church's need now is for a major effort at education which will create in the laity a strong desire for sanctity, a personal consecration to God through the Church, which will bring wise control and *use* of the abundantly available perfections of creation. The time for an attitude predominantly defensive has passed away; in its place must come the will to conquer the world for Christ. It is especially in the university environment that the Church must somehow or other achieve this effort at education. The staff members of the universities are the persons who will form the minds of the country's future leaders in statesmanship, the professions, and multitudinous enterprises. Many Catholic students ought to aim at acquiring a deep knowledge of their Faith and then becoming highly competent members of university staffs.

SPECIAL FEATURES

The foregoing editorials reveal the permanent purpose and attitude of *The Way*. We turn now to the chief articles which develop the theme of the first issue, preparation for Lent. These articles are

somewhat longer; but vanishing space compels us to make our summaries briefer.

In "Into the Desert" Father John McKenzie, the scriptural scholar well known for his *Two Edged Sword,* has given us an article which is at once literary, fascinating, and scientifically solid. The Hebrews lived near and constantly travelled "in a desert land, a howling wilderness waste"[3] which kept them aware that death is always near. Unless we remember this fact we lose much insight into the many encounters which Hebrews had with God in the desert: those of Moses at the burning bush, the Hebrews at Mount Sinai, the forty-day journey of Elijah; or the sojourns of Hosea, John the Baptist, Jesus, and Paul; or those of the ascetics at Qumran, or of the Christian hermits in Egypt. Through these encounters in the desert Yahweh revealed His will to save man if only he repents from his worldly affections and sin. We too must go into the desert, the very embodiment of evil and death, in order to find life. By writing such as this, Father McKenzie sharpens our ability to interpret Scripture aright and aids us to make our meditative personal applications both more meaningful and theologically sound.

In "Spiritual Stamina" Father James Walsh, one of the editors of the new review and a specialist in ascetical theology, gives us highly constructive suggestions about how to overcome "the noon-day devil," sloth in the spiritual life which sooner or later attacks us all. He soon calls it by its technical name, *acedia,* a boredom which generates distaste for the things of God. Sometimes we have misconceived a youthful fervor as a stage of development which we think we can always retain. Sometimes spiritual truths have merely lost their novelty. Sometimes the pressure from work, mental strain, or ill-health has stifled delight in the spiritual; or the soul may have grown restive in search of the more penetrating knowledge of God which is characteristic of an increasingly intimate union with Him. Whatever the cause, the Church constantly returns to the task of re-formation. She calls us to share Christ's sufferings that through our becoming more like to Him we may share His resurrection. Spiritual stamina is the effective power of the Divine life within us which enables us to carry on joyfully because we are aware of our living union with Christ.

[3] *Deut.* 31:10.

In harmony with the theme of the first issue Fr. Donal O'Sullivan has written a stimulating series of meditations on "From Death to Life. The Gospels of the First Week in Lent." He shows these Gospels as developments of St. Peter's description of the aim of Christian life: "To become dead to our sins and to live for holiness."[4]

"Lenten Penance" is an instructive article by another of the editors, Fr. William Yeomans. Penance is first and foremost a change of heart, an interior renewal. Being the way to the glory of our resurrection, it is not inspired by mere desire of self-control. Rather, the true motivation to penance lies in detestation of the disorder of sin in order to achieve, with God's help, the glorification which will be ours in the Resurrection. Lent is a preparation for this Resurrection.

We come now to the "regular supporting features." One of the *Texts from the Fathers* is taken from a homily of Gregory of Palamas for the Fifth Sunday of Lent.[5] Its topic sentence is: ". . . we praise bodily fasting not for its own sake but for the substantial benefits it brings to the soul." Other texts are from Bede, Ignatius of Loyola, and Bernard. The *Meditation* provides apt reflections on Christ's hunger in the desert and shows how through it He taught us to hunger even more for spiritual things. The *Spiritual Vocabulary* presents studies of the words *piety, mercy, abnegation, mortification,* and *renunciation.*

A FINAL THOUGHT

The perusal of this fresh, stimulating material in the first issue of *The Way* produced these pleasant impressions upon the present writer. We have here a periodical long sought by many priests—one of literary reflection and interpretation rather than a journal of scientific scholarship or heavily documented research. But it is the prayerful reflection of highly competent writers who have done exacting research on other occasions and through it have schooled themselves to accuracy and depth. Hence their interpretations and opinions quickly win our confidence. *The Way* is not a review of Jesuit spirituality. Rather, it is a review of Christian

[4] *I Peter* 2:24.
[5] *P.G.* 151:160-162.

spirituality edited by Jesuits who want to draw from all Christian sources—Scripture, patrology, and all ancient and modern schools of spirituality—whatever light will stimulate and guide earnest men to the rich fulfillment of Christian living amid the rich opportunities of the present era.

This is the type of magazine that we priests can put into the hands of our more spiritually eager parishioners, knowing that they will find solid guidance and not pious sentimentality. Moreover, the mere consideration of such a project forces us to ask ourselves another important question: are we, as individual priests, doing all that we might in order to help the spiritual advancement of the more sincerely devout members of our parish? As other Christs, we come not only "to call . . . sinners to repentance,"[6] but to do all we can, as God's instruments, that, once saved at the start, they may go on "to have life, and have it more abundantly."[7] *The Way* is a welcome pastoral aid for this necessary task.

GEORGE E. GANSS, S.J.

Marquette University
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

[6] *Luke* 5:32.
[7] *John* 10:10.

FATHER EDMOND DARVIL BENARD

At the time of his tragic and untimely death three months ago, Father Benard was certainly one of the best known and best loved teachers of sacred theology in our country. He was in the twentieth year of his priesthood, and eighteen of those years he had spent as a member of the Faculty of Sacred Theology at the Catholic University of America. He died as dean of that Faculty, to which he belonged as Associate Professor of Apologetics. Since January, 1944, he had been Associate Editor of *The American Ecclesiastical Review*. During that time most of the material published in this magazine had been prepared for the printer by Father Benard.

He was a highly influential member of the group of *AER* editorial writers who, in the fall of 1945, worked to found the Catholic Theological Society of America. In 1952 he was elected president of the Society he had helped to establish. Three years later the society voted him the Cardinal Spellman Award for excellence in theological work.

Since 1947 Father Benard was a frequent and beloved speaker on the Catholic Hour, a program conducted under the auspices of the NCCM. And, all during his years here at the University, he was giving conferences, lectures, and retreats in every part of the country. He was in constant demand as a preacher.

During the last few months of his life he was occupied with his highly important work on the new edition of the *Catholic Encyclopedia*. He was the editor in charge of the entire field of sacred theology, and the section dealing with fundamental dogmatic theology was his special concern.

Father Benard's influence was exercised, not only in the fields of teaching, preaching, and editing, but also by means of his brilliantly written publications. Probably the most important of these was his doctoral dissertation, *A Preface to Newman's Theology*, published in 1945 by Herder of St. Louis. Another was *The Appeal to the Emotions in Preaching*, a pamphlet made up of articles previously printed in *AER*, and published by Newman at Westminster, Maryland, in 1945. In 1947 he and his good friend Msgr. John K. Ryan acted as co-editors of the symposium *American Essays for the Newman Centennial*. Finally, in 1952, Father

Benard and I edited together *Studies in Praise of Our Blessed Mother: Selections from The American Ecclesiastical Review.* One of the essays included in these studies was Father Benard's brilliantly written "Mother of Good Counsel," which originally appeared in the Dec., 1950, issue of *AER.* It was destined to be the last of his articles to appear on the pages of the *Review.*

Altogether he published twelve articles in *AER.* They are:

1) "Cardinal Newman and the Lay Apostolate," Jan., 1944.

2) "The Appeal to the Emotions in Preaching," Feb., March, and April, 1944.

3) "Reinhold Niebuhr and the Catholic Church," Nov. and Dec., 1944, and Jan., 1945.

4) "The Great Footnote Mystery," Feb., 1945.

5) "By Any Other Name," May, 1945.

6) "Screwtape Still Writes Letters," July, 1945.

7) "Most Consoling Intelligence from England," Oct., 1945.

8) "The Meaning of the Springfield Plan," Jan., 1946.

9) "The Cultural Mission of the Church," April, 1946.

10) "The Twelfth Pius and Twelve Saints," April, 1949.

11) "Newman's Idea of a Catholic University," Dec., 1949.

12) "Mother of Good Counsel," Dec., 1950.

For the *Proceedings of the Catholic Theological Society of America* Father Benard wrote two outstanding contributions. One was a paper, "The Doctrinal Value of the Ordinary Teaching of the Holy Father in View of *Humani Generis.*" The other was the presidential address for the 1952 meeting. It was entitled "What Do the Theologians Do?" He also produced articles and papers for other periodicals and learned societies, including a memorable paper read in 1958 at the Third International Mariological Congress at Lourdes.

Father Benard was an exceptionally gifted person. I remember him as a brilliant student at Holy Name Grammar School in Springfield, Massachusetts, and as a notably able student at Cathedral High School, in that same city. During his high school days he won a national oratorical contest, and was given a trip through Europe as a result. He graduated from Holy Cross College in Worcester *magna cum laude* in 1936, and entered the Grand Seminary at Montreal that same fall to study for the priesthood. Five years later he was ordained a priest in St. Michael's Cathedral

in Springfield by the late Bishop Thomas M. O'Leary. In 1942 he completed his studies for the doctorate in sacred theology at the University of Montreal. And, in the fall of 1943, he became a member of the Faculty of Sacred Theology at the Catholic University of America.

In his youth Edmond Benard showed magnificent promise. With his brilliant mind and his amiable disposition, he could have made a great success of any life work he chose to take up. He was generous enough to offer all of the gifts with which God had endowed him for the service of Our Lord in His priesthood. And, in the priesthood, the promise he had shown in his younger days flowered magnificently. He died a comparatively young man. He was only in his forty-seventh year when he passed from this life. Yet, in the time Our Lord gave him to work in His Church, Father Benard accomplished truly great things.

He was a brilliant priest. His contributions to American Catholic cultural life were numerous and important. He was loved and respected by his students and by his associates here at the University. Above all, he was a good and holy priest. Definitely he will not be forgotten.

JOSEPH CLIFFORD FENTON

The Catholic University of America
Washington, D. C.

Answers to Questions

TONES AT A MISSA CANTATA

Question: Could you kindly clarify a point about the tones to be used in a *Missa cantanta?* Reference is to sections N. 513 and N. 514 of the new code of rubrics. In N. 514 the celebrant of a high Mass is directed to follow in general the directives of N. 513 which deal with the solemn Mass. In N. 513 *(e)* we read that the celebrant "says quietly (secreto) the other words which are said aloud in a low Mass." Thus Herbst, in the January issue of *The Priest,* says that at an ordinary high Mass the celebrant will intone the *Gloria* and then recite the rest of it *secreto.* What do we do in a high Mass about the following which are said *clara voce* in a low Mass: *Sanctus, Nobis quoque, Agnus Dei, Domine non sum dignus, Communio,* and last gospel? As I see it, all of these (except perhaps the *Domine non sum dignus*) are to be recited *secreto* at a high Mass in view of what I have quoted above from N. 513 *(e).* There seems to be principle employed here which I have not seen anywhere in print, namely that if a part is sung by the choir the celebrant does not say it aloud. I admit that this would not apply to the *Nobis quoque,* however. Am I right in my interpretation?

Answer: You are right in noting the directive of N. 514 that, in general (that is, with allowance made for the absence of sacred ministers), the celebrant must observe what has been said in N. 513 about the solemn Mass. Therefore, in a sung Mass, the celebrant *(a) sings* the *Dominus vobiscum* whenever it occurs, except in the verses after the *Confiteor;* the collects with their *Oremus:* the *Oremus* before the antiphon at the offertory; the *Per omnia saecula saeculorum* etc. with the preface; the *Per omnia saecula saeculorum* with the *Pater noster* and its preface; the *Per omnia saecula saeculorum* with the *Pax Domini; (b) begins in chant:* the *Gloria* and the *Credo,* when they are to be said; *(c) says aloud* the formulas at the communion of the faithful and the words of the blessing at the end of the Mass; *(e)* says quietly the other words which are said aloud in a low Mass. Item *(d)* does not apply in a high Mass; and item *(f)* applies only when a lector sings the epistle.

If a lector does not sing the epistle, the celebrant may read it aloud or sing it.

In the light of the foregoing, the celebrant will say *secreto* the *Sanctus, Nobis quoque, Agnus Dei, Domine non sum dignus, Communio,* and last gospel. No principle has been enunciated about this quiet recitation, as far as I know, but the point you make is well taken. From a practical aspect, for most of these parts the celebrant's voice would be drowned out by the choir; even at the last gospel the organist, outside of penitential seasons, will probably be warming up for the recessional. But the quiet *Nobis quoque* is still left unexplained.

PRECEDENCE OF THE COLOR GUARD

Question: Is it right for the Knights of Columbus Color Guard (Fourth Degree Knights), in a procession of the Blessed Sacrament during the Forty Hours, *immediately* to precede the canopy? If I understand my authors correctly, it is not; I have consulted Le Vavasseur-Haegy-Stercky, Dubois, and Fortescue. It appears that the proper place for the Color Guard is either in front of the processional cross or in back of the celebrant. I have in mind a procession in which there is no Bishop, no Church dignitaries. In my little parish that would mean the pastor and the altar boys.

Answer: When Martinucci discusses the processions at Forty Hours or on the other eucharistic occasions (Vol. II, P. I, p. 131, p. 142), he places the members of the lay Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament in front of the processional cross. If these participants, who would seem to have a claim to special recognition in a procession of the Blessed Sacrament, are placed in front of the processional cross, it would seem that the Color Guard of the Knights of Columbus could not expect closer proximity to the Blessed Sacrament in such a procession. Obviously, you are reading your authors aright. I might add, however, that Martinucci reserves the place behind the canopy for ecclesiastical dignitaries only.

PROHIBITION OF SOLEMN NUPTIAL BLESSING

Question: In the Ordo under the Tuesday before Ash Wednesday and Saturday before the First Sunday of Advent are these words: "Hodie de sero *clauditur nuptiarum solemnitas.*" Some

priests, I am told, forbid a nuptial ceremony after 5 p.m. on the days mentioned above; others disagree. They say the "forbidden times" begin at midnight. Which opinion is right?

Answer: Canon 1108, § 2 tells us that "only the solemn nuptial blessing of marriage is forbidden from the First Sunday in Advent to Christmas Day inclusively, and from Ash Wednesday to Easter Sunday inclusively." If the canon is interpreted literally, apart from other considerations, those who hold for midnight are right. But, since, apart from an Apostolic Indult, the solemn nuptial blessing is inseparable from Mass, we must take into consideration the limitations placed upon evening Masses ("if the spiritual good of a considerable number of the faithful demands it" [*Sacram Communionem,* March 19, 1957]; "[The bishop] can permit [an evening Mass on feast days together with the celebration of a marriage ceremony] if the good of a notable part of the faithful demands it, not, however, for the convenience of a single family" [Private reply of S.R.C., June 21, 1957]). There is nothing in the law, therefore, which would render solemn nuptials impossible late in the evening but, in practice, such a late wedding would be improbable. There is no justification for calling 5 p.m. the deadline unless the Ordinary, exercising his right to specify the times for religious ceremonies in his diocese, sets such a deadline.

SIGNAL FOR COMMUNION

Question: As the new code of rubrics omits the *Confiteor,* etc. before the communion of the faithful, is there any provision made for the celebrant to know whether there are any of the faithful at the communion rail? Is there a rubric permitting the priest to turn around at the altar to see whether there are any communicants? Or could the Mass server come to the side of the celebrant to tell him? Or would he be permitted to give a signal with the bell? Or are the faithful to say or do something to attract attention? Or is the priest supposed to listen so intently that he will hear the noise of feet approaching the communion rail which may be 30 or 40 feet away from the altar? In the absence of a definite ruling, what would you recommend?

Answer: I think the problem may be solved by having the server take note of the presence of communicants. If there are faithful

to receive, he will then go to the credence table for the paten and, lest the celebrant not take notice of this movement, the server could kneel at the epistle side (on the predella, if he intends to receive; otherwise, on the bottom step). He should thus be within easy notice of the celebrant.

In this connection, I should like to voice my own annoyance at a tendency observed in a number of churches, viz. the apparent reluctance of communicants to start the procession to the communion rail. The result is that, at times, the celebrant completes the third *Domine non sum dignus* and starts down the altar steps before there is a single person at the rail. There is then a grand rush. My recollection is that the faithful used to come to the rail as soon as the third signal of the bell died away. A brief announcement could solve this problem.

JOHN J. MCCORMICK, S.S.

SERVILE WORK ON HOLYDAYS

Question: Would it be permitted to tell our people that they satisfy their obligation of observing a holyday (which does not fall on a Sunday or a legal holiday) by going to Mass? In other words, can we say that the faithful are free from the ecclesiastical prohibition of servile work on such a day?

Answer: The law of the Church still forbids servile work on holydays, even when they do not fall on a Sunday or legal holiday. However, a lenient interpretation is permissible in regard to what can be considered necessary work on such days. In this connection, Fr. V. Kelly, C.SS.R., says: "It may be said that in all countries today the Church tacitly dispenses from this precept the faithful who cannot easily abstain from their regular work on the other days of precept (besides Christmas and New Year's Day) which fall on a week day. This refers, of course, only to work which is at least morally necessary, not to the work one might just as easily transfer to another day" (Kelly, V., C.SS.R., *Forbidden Sunday and Feast-Day Occupations* [Catholic University of America Press, 1943], 79).

I believe that this liberal interpretation can be applied even to a man who owns his own business, for there would be considerable

loss of income if he shut down for even one day. But I think that housewives should restrict their activities to those tasks which are necessary only for the day, as they are supposed to do on Sundays.

MEAT ON FRIDAY IN A CATHOLIC COLLEGE

Question: May a Catholic college which has a considerable number of non-Catholic students serve meat on Friday for the benefit of these students?

Answer: I believe that the opinion that baptized non-Catholics (who were never members of the Catholic Church) are not bound by the law of fast and abstinence is sufficiently probable to be followed in practice. Hence from the standpoint of ecclesiastical law it would be permitted to give baptized non-Catholic (and *a fortiori* an unbaptized person) meat on a day of Church abstinence.

But other factors enter into the case presented, especially the danger of scandal. Hence, I would answer, first, that in the common meals served to the students in the dining hall on Fridays and other days of abstinence there should be no meat, even though a considerable number of non-Catholic students are at table, and even though a choice of dishes is offered (for example, in cafeteria style). For a common meal has the appearance of a family table, and when non-Catholics come to dinner at a Catholic home on Friday they are invited to partake of abstinence fare. Besides, if meat were available, some of the Catholic students might forget the day and partake of it. This could be an occasion of scandal to the non-Catholics, even though it was done inadvertently by the Catholics.

The non-Catholic students cannot justly regard this restriction as an undue limitation of their freedom. If they wish to eat meat on Fridays, they can obtain it elsewhere. For that matter, they need not come to a Catholic college in the first place.

It is somewhat different when there is question of the service obtained at a lunch counter or a snack bar on the campus of a Catholic college. If the college has a good proportion of non-Catholic students, I would not regard it as wrong to have meat available at such a place. The same would be true of vending machines in different parts of the college containing meat sandwiches. At the same time, I believe the better course is to have no meat at all

available anywhere in the college on days of abstinence. Thus, there will be no danger of scandal given by the good—albeit absent-minded—Catholic student who inadvertently buys and eats a ham sandwich on a Friday.

THE ROSARY RING

Question: May a ring, embossed with a cross and ten small nodes, representing the Our Father and the ten Hail Marys that constitute a decade of the rosary, be blessed and indulgenced so that a person could put it on his finger and gain the rosary indulgences by fingering around it and saying the prayers five times?

Answer: The article described can be blessed, as can any object intended for a lawful use, with the *benedictio ad omnia*. But it could not be a means of gaining the rosary indulgences. The most practical use of such a ring, I believe, would be to count on it the Our Father and ten Hail Marys while one has on his person an indulgenced rosary, if he cannot conveniently hold the rosary in his hand (Cf. *AAS*, XXV [1933], 502)—for example, while he is driving a car. I would remark in passing that the rosary-ring which accompanied this question seems to be a very inexpensive object, not worth $1, which is the listed price.

DENOUNCING THE DIVORCED

Question: Are not some priests too quick to denounce divorced persons? I am acquainted with a woman who, with ecclesiastical permission, has received a civil divorce from her husband for a fully adequate reason and is leading an exemplary life, residing in the home of her parents. Yet, frequently she has heard a priest in the pulpit thundering against divorced persons, and declaring (or implying) that all such persons are living in mortal sin. Because of an over-sensitive conscience she always begins her confession with "I am a divorced woman," and on a couple of occasions has been told immediately that she cannot receive absolution and requested to leave the confessional. What recommendations can you offer to remedy this situation?

Answer: As to the lady herself I would tell her that she need not state in confession the fact that she is divorced unless the

integrity of confession requires it—that is, unless she has sinned in some way against her status as a married woman. For, despite the civil divorce she still remains united by the conjugal bond to her divorced husband, even though he may have attempted another marriage. Apart from this, it would be unnecessary—and sometimes not advisable—for her to mention the fact that she is divorced.

As far as priests are concerned, this case should warn them to be more exact in distinguishing, both in the pulpit and in the confessional, between different types of divorced persons. In his sermons the priest should never say or imply that all divorced persons are living in sin. If he cares to make a statement on this point, he should say that those who have obtained a civil divorce after a valid marriage *and have attempted another marriage and are still living as married persons are living in sin.* (Of course, even this statement would not strictly be adequate because it would not cover the cases of those who have received a dissolution of their valid marriage bond from the Church, such as the dissolution of a *matrimonium ratum non consummatum.*) And surely any confessor who would immediately reject a person beginning his or her confession with "I am a divorced person" would be acting most imprudently. The confessor's duty is to hear the whole story.

THE CONFIRMATION SPONSOR

Question: Can it be said that nowadays it is more in accord with the spirit of the Church to have only two sponsors at Confirmation —one man for all the boys and one woman for all the girls—or is it still regarded as better to have individual sponsors for all the confirmands?

Answer: It still remains the first ruling of the Church that a sponsor shall present for Confirmation only one, or at most two confirmands. However, the law immediately adds "unless for a just reason another procedure seem better to the minister" (Can. 794, § 1). In many cases in our country today this other procedure means one male sponsor for all the boys and one woman sponsor for all the girls. Frequently there can be reasons to justify this type of sponsorship. For example, when a large group of children is to be confirmed, it may be difficult to find enough men and women

suitable and willing to fulfill the duties of sponsorship. Moreover, sometimes in such a case there is hardly enough room in the church for the children and their parents (who naturally wish to be present), so that it would be utterly impossible to admit 400 or 500 more persons to act as sponsors. Hence, though it still remains *per se* the better procedure to have individual sponsors for Confirmation, it is frequently *per accidens* the preferable plan to have only two sponsors for all who are to be confirmed.

FRANCIS J. CONNELL, C.SS.R.

Book Reviews

WHAT IS AN ECUMENICAL COUNCIL? A CATHOLIC VIEW. By Thoralf T. Thielen. Westminster, Md.: Newman Press, 1960. Pp. xix + 185. $2.95.

THE ECUMENICAL COUNCILS. By Francis Dvornik. New York: Hawthorn Books, 1961. Pp. 122. $3.50. This is volume 82 of *The Twentieth Century Encyclopedia of Catholicism.*

These books are quite dissimilar, despite the fact that they deal with the same subject matter. Yet each is quite satisfactory and will be definitely valuable in its own line.

Monsignor Thielen set out to write a popular introduction to the study of the ecumenical councils. As a result he has gone into the theological, the juridical, and the historical background of conciliar studies. Furthermore has devoted considerable space to a discussion of what may be done by the forthcoming Second Ecumenical Council of the Vatican.

He has been eminently successful in his work. He is manifestly a born teacher. His presentation is eminently clear. Unquestionably his book will be helpful, particularly to the laity desirous of learning something about the great gathering for which the Catholic Church is now preparing. Incidentally, it is unfortunate that Monsignor Thielen has assigned a definite date for the opening of the new Council.

Father Dvornik's magnificent reputation in the field of conciliar history is a guarantee of the value of his book, which, incidentally, is one of the finest contributions yet to the *Twentieth Century Encyclopedia of Catholicism.* His book is primarily historical in character. Obviously the most interesting section of Father Dvornik's volume is that which deals with the later Ecumenical Councils held in the east.

In his highly interesting and enlightening discussion of the Vatican Council and its Constitution *Pastor Aeternus* Father Dvornik seems, to this reviewer, to have placed too much reliance on the opinions set forth by Bishop Fessler after the Council. In general Fessler's teaching was very sound indeed, but there were some details in which he was somewhat lacking in theological insight.

Father Dvornik's book deserves, and undoubtedly will receive, an enthusiastic reception in the world of theological and historical scholarship.

JOSEPH CLIFFORD FENTON

THE LIFE OF THE MYSTICAL BODY: THE CHURCH, GRACE, AND THE SACRAMENTS. By Philip L. Hanley, O.P. Westminster, Md.: Newman Press, 1961. Pp. xx + 378. $4.95.

This book should be put in a prominent place on the lengthening list of doctrinal works written for the intelligent and mature layman. Teachers of sacred doctrine in colleges will also find here an excellent text for presenting some familiar but often difficult mysteries of our Faith. Starting with the truism that "sacramental living is the criterion of a good Catholic," Father Hanley proceeds to help the reader understand what the Church is, the urgent need of grace, and why sacramental living is the norm by which the Church judges the spiritual health of her sons and daughters.

The author succeeds admirably in realizing his purpose for the outstanding characteristic of this work is its clarity. Beginning with an explanation of the Mystical Body which depends completely upon the *Mystici Corporis* of Pope Pius XII he has given the framework into which all the rest fits and from which it gets its intelligibility. It is this insistence upon the place of the Church, as well as the necessity of grace, which emphasizes so forcibly the importance of the Sacraments in the life of the Catholic. Father Hanley in this way has been able to highlight the aspects of these doctrines which bear directly upon the spiritual life of the layman.

The author has concentrated on a clear presentation of the doctrines of the Church and in this he has succeeded. Wherever an opinion must be introduced for more complete understanding he follows, as is understandable, the common Thomistic tradition. Anything else might confuse the reader.

There is one statement, however, on pages 118 f. which is somewhat confusing. The author seems to demand of the minister the intention of doing what the Church intends. This goes beyond the formula that the minister must have the intention of doing what the Church does. It even seems to be at variance with the doctrine on the minister of baptism on page 160.

All in all the author accomplishes his purpose with clarity and unction. Cetrainly the laity will find in this book a basic text for understanding the life of grace which is theirs. Priests too can read this book with profit as a review of their theology and as a model for the presentation of the truths of Faith.

ALBAN A. MAGUIRE, O.F.M.

THE CHURCHES AND THE CHURCH. By Bernard Leeming, S.J. Westminster, Md.: Newman Press, 1960. Pp. x + 340. $6.50.

Some would wish perhaps to extend to the whole ecumenical movement, the statement Dr. Fisher is supposed to have made concerning the Evanston assembly: "We have done absolutely nothing; and have done it exceedingly well." We cannot ignore, however, this new manifestation of the Christian consciousness. As the Holy Office Instruction of 1950 reminds us, the ecumenical movement is the result, at least in part, of the "inspiration of the Holy Ghost." Thus it is important for us to be informed, and no single volume is more useful for this purpose than this work of Fr. Leeming. It well merits its description as a "definitive study" of the ecumenical movement.

Herein is described the nature and functions of the World Council of Churches in which 170 churches are now represented. There is a survey of some of the unions and federations which have occurred, with special attention being given to the Church of South India. Fr. Leeming shows how the whole ecumenical process has been marked with a spirit of cordiality, sympathy, and a desire to understand others. This impulse to unity has grown out of a personal conviction of the shame and scandal of the present division in Christendom. Missionary effort among non-Christians, the growth of secularism, the tendency toward centralization, the "new look" in Biblical and theological writings have all influenced the growth of this conviction.

There is danger inherent in any attempt to generalize concerning the movement but within limitations the author is able to trace several developments in ecumenical thought. There are three fixed points of agreement: there must be unity; this unity ought to be visible; the existing division is contrary to the will of God. Within this general area some progress toward unity has been made, e.g., doctrinal matters are assuming greater importance and there is a discernible trend toward "sacramentalism."

The stresses and strains which are manifest in the movement are many. There is the difference in outlook between the younger and the older churches; also the necessity for the World Council to respect the denominations while desiring at the same time to dissolve them into a larger unity. There is the very real difficulty in finding a suitable language which will fulfill the needs of both frankness and kindness. There is also the question of the visibility of the Church. This may well be the central theological obscurity. The sampling of viewpoints which Fr. Leeming records shows how dense this obscurity is.

The relationship between Rome and the ecumenical movement is given extensive attention. There are some ecumenists who, like Karl Barth, adopt an attitude of evangelism toward Rome, insisting that she must drop devotion to Our Lady as well as the doctrine of Papal Infallibility. Others have a definite attitude of antagonism toward Rome. Many, however, insist that Rome must be considered; although they hope that time and changing conditions will make the Roman system less difficult to accept. Rome, for its part, has maintained an attitude of aloofness to the movement, but the author is careful to show that this is not the same as an attitude of opposition or condemnation. Aloofness has been dictated because: "It is not true charity to fail to point out a serious, even a fatal, danger, or to encourage misleading hopes or misguided enthusiasm" (p. 173). The author shows that Rome's aloofness has exercised a beneficial influence upon the World Council and he is at his most eloquent when he speaks of the Church of Rome as fundamentally a family and not a sterile, forbidding juridic system. Authority is exercised, to be sure, but in a spirit of parental love and care.

The Catholic principles relative to ecumenism are developed clearly. The attitude of the Catholic Church to the ecumenical movement is based upon the charity of true wisdom which proceeds not from intransigence but rather from a faithfulness to its knowledge concerning the union of Christ with the Church. The Church claims to be the only Church founded by Christ and laments that recent times have seen the very belief in one true Church become obscure among the denominations. The Church believes that Christ willed his Church to have a visible unity. She believes that she has preserved this unity substantially, although the centuries of her life have brought her bruises and scars. Nevertheless she has preserved her unity in the profession of the same faith, the communion of the seven sacraments, and the obedience of her members to the visible head of the Church. "Rome's demand for submission," therefore, need not have a sinister connotation. This is not a demand for abject abasement to a human political system; but a subjection of obedience and love which proceeds freely from the heart—a subjection not to men but to Christ Himself.

In regard to the *vestigia,* two reservations are expressed which are noteworthy. While admitting that, speculatively, there are fragments of gold in many denominations which should be preserved, Fr. Leeming doubts that this can be reduced to practical ecumenical activity. First, because such religious elements of true religious value are very difficult to isolate; religions are a complicated composite of religious, racial, national, philosophical, historical, social and natural factors. That which

is recognized as "good and useful" may prove to have simply a natural, racial or philosophical basis. It may not be specifically religious at all. Second, because experience shows that insistence upon the value of these *vestigia* may easily tend to solidify the actually existing religious framework. The element will thus be fixed in its "separated condition" and the whole possibility of union made immeasurably more difficult. He concludes that the erecting of a *vestigia* theology "may easily tend to blunt the sense of the evil of division" (p. 259).

This volume is rendered more valuable by generous citations, massive footnotes, a very pertinent bibliography and an excellent index. There are also several appendices which include: the 1950 Instruction of the Holy Office, the 1948 Pastoral Letter of the Dutch Hierarchy and the 1950 Toronto declaration by the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches.

Fr. Leeming writes with erudition and charity. He is careful to speak with consideration for the feelings and traditions of others, yet without that lack of balance which has sometimes discredited, for Catholics, the ecumenical cause. Upon putting down this volume, the reader feels that the compass has been set straight again. Ecumenical literature has been greatly enriched. As Bishop Wright has commented: "This is a particularly timely and altogether satisfactory book."

JOHN J. KING, O.M.I.

Books Received

Secular Institutes: Consecration to God and Life in the World. By Joseph-Marie Perrin, O.P. Translated by Lancelot C. Sheppard. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons, 1961. Pp. 123. $3.50.

The Word of God: Approaches to the Mystery of the Sacred Scriptures. By Georges Auzou. Translated by Josefa Thornton. St. Louis: B. Herder Book Company, 1961. Pp. 255. $4.75.

Le Concile et les Conciles: Contribution a l'Histoire de la Vie Conciliaire de l'Eglise. By B. Botte, H. Marot, P.-Th. Camelot, Y. Congar, H. Alivisatos, G. Fransen, P. De Vooght, J. Gill, A. Dupront, and R. Aubert. Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1960. Pp. xix + 348.

Darwin's Vision and Christian Perspectives. Edited with an Introduction by Walter J. Ong, S.J., and a Foreword by John Wright, D.D., Bishop of Pittsburgh. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1960. Pp. x + 154. $4.00.

The Prophet from Nazareth. By Morton Scott Enslin. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1961. Pp. 221. $4.95.

Effective Preaching. By Thomas V. Liske, S.T.D. Second Edition. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1960. Pp. 349. $5.00.

The Dynamics of Liturgy. By H. A. Reinhold. Foreword by Rt. Rev. Msgr. Edward G. Murray. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1961. Pp. 146. $4.75.

Corpus Christi Quod est Ecclesia. Pars II. De Christo Capite Mystici Corporis. By Sebastian Tromp, S.J. Rome: The Gregorian University, 1960. Pp. xii + 585.

Corpus Christi Quod est Ecclesia. Pars III. De Spiritu Christi Anima. By Sebastian Tromp, S.J. Rome: The Gregorian University, 1960. Pp. xi + 465.

Pontificie Commissioni Preparatorie del Concilio Ecumenico Vatican II. Rome: From the Secretariate of the Central Pontifical Commission. 1960. Pp. 181.

Daily Missal Meditations: Meditations for Every Day of the Year Based on the Liturgy of the Mass. Vol. II. Spring. By the Sisters of Charity of Saint Elizabeth, Convent, New Jersey. New York: Benziger Brothers, Inc., 1960. Pp. xxviii + 655. No Price Given.

Reprinted by popular request —

Why Brothers Don't Become Priests

by

Quentin Hackenewerth, S.M.

This article was originally published in the January 1961 issue of *The American Ecclesiastical Review*

•

12 pages plus cover—5½ x 8½

Sample copy	20¢
In lots of 25	18¢ ea.
In lots of 100	14¢ ea.

Prices Postpaid

•

The American Ecclesiastical Review
The Catholic University of America
Washington 17, D. C.

Now available in reprint form —

The Eucharistic Fast

by

Rev. Adrian Holzmeister, O.F.M.Cap.

Reprinted from the November 1960 issue of *The American Ecclesiastical Review*

This handy 12-page booklet, measuring 5½ x 8½ ins., contains a special cover, and is attractively bound.

•

Prices Postpaid

Sample copy	25¢
In lots of 25	20¢ ea.
In lots of 100	18¢ ea.

•

The American Ecclesiastical Review
The Catholic University of America
Washington 17, D. C.

THE WAY

A quarterly Review of Spirituality for our modern age

The first issue, January, 1961, treated the opportunities of the Church for spiritual formation and direction in England, the U.S.A., and Australia. Then it developed the theme: the full living of the Christian life in Lent. The issue evoked these comments:

"The night of the Last Supper, Thomas asked Our Lord to show him the way. THE WAY is the twentieth century answer to the question of Thomas and to the plea of every priest, nun and religious soul."

Bishop Fulton J. Sheen

"THE WAY is unusual and original in concept and extraordinarily close to the new way—it is biblical, patristic, liturgical and modern."

Rev. R. A. Reinhold

"In this very first issue of THE WAY we discern a periodical which is not content merely to repeat the old set forms of Christian piety. Rather, it leads its readers to the sources; and thus it guides them to a joyful Christianity which finds its vigor in a union with Christ meant to help the faithful to stand firm in the modern world, and then to make their contribution to the renewal of the Christian life."

Joseph A. Jungmann, S.J.

Each issue develops a central theme; e.g., sharing Christ's Easter joy (April), growth in Christ through the annual retreat (July), the functions of Christian hope (October). Each issue will carry regular features; *Scripture Readings* with meditative commentary; a *Spiritual Vocabulary;* brief surveys of *Recommended Reading.*

Send subscription to: THE WAY,
31 Farm Street, London, W.1

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

STATE

United States & Canada—$5.00 a year